Calc- H00537-1-07165581

BULLETIN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

218/1

NUMBER TWELVE
1996

Department of Linguistics
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
1996

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Published by Dr. Subhas Chandra Banerjee, Secretary, UCAC, Asutosh Building, and printed by Pradip Kumar Ghosh, Superintendent, Calcutta University Press, 48, Hazra Road, Calcutta 700019

Price Rs. 40/-per copy : for students Rs. 15/-only

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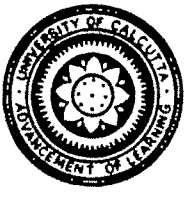

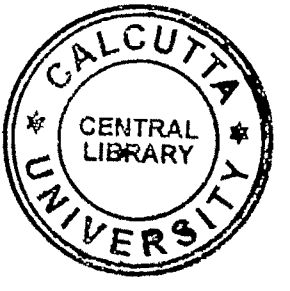

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Note

It is regretted that the Bulletin of the Department of Linguistics could not be published during the period from 1987–1995 under some unavoidable circumstances. The present volume is a continuation of the volume No. 11, 1986.

THE FORMAT OF ETYMOLOGICAL STATEMENTS *

ASHOK R. KELKAR, PUNE

I

When one tries to understand the relation between language history and language analysis, one faces a paradox. Western linguists of the 19th century argued that one cannot make sense of language as analysed except by considering language as subjected to a historical account. " In terms of linguistic science, the only answer to the question why ? is a historical statement. Why do we call an animal of the species *Equus caballus* horse ? -- because that is what our parents called it, their English-speaking ancestors before them over a thousand years. ... Attempts to answer the question why ? in other ways — by appeals to psychology, philosophy, or abstract logic — may seem esthetically more satisfying, but are never anything better than guesses, unprovable and fruitless." (Bloch & Trager 1942 : section 1.4.) In short, the facts revealed by language analysis are to be accounted for by the facts revealed by language history. But then Western linguists from Saussure onwards have also argued that language analysis need not, indeed cannot, wait for a working out of language history any more than a language - acquiring child need to or could wait to find out about the practices of the parents' ancestors. Actually, the working out of language history depends on a prior working out of the relevant language analysis. "We can study linguistic change only in comparing related languages or different historical stages of the same language." (Bloomfield 1933 : section 1.8.) Thus, the historical significance of the complicated facts of Kashmīrī phonetics cannot be understood properly unless one has already worked out the abstract phonology of modern Kashmīrī and possibly of Old Kashmīrī, Shiṇā, Lahndā, and other languages. To sum up the mutual relationship between language history and language analysis —

(1)
$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{Language history} & \xrightarrow{D} & \text{language analysis} \\ \downarrow E & & \downarrow E \\ \text{Language change} & \xleftarrow{D} & \text{language system} \end{array}$$

Note : Read $\xrightarrow{D}$ as : depends on, and read $\xrightarrow{E}$ as : elucidates.

* This is based on a seminar lecture delivered on 28.11.1995 at the Dept. of Linguistics, University of Calcutta.

Now let us take up the nature of the elucidation, first in language analysis, and then in language history.

Language analysis elucidates language system in two directions. It takes up generalities at the levels of formation [ ], manifestation / /, and interpretation < > of linguistic forms. Examples follow. (Note : Read the comma as : and ; the semicolon as : or.)

(2) Formation covers grammar and lexis

[Sentence-Statement-Positive [Subject-Theme-Noun, Predicate [Verb, Complement-Adjective]]]

as in : [snow is white [snow, is white [is, white]]]

that is, [[snow, [is, white]]]

Verb [Verb-intransitive ; Verb-transitive]

(3) Manifestation covers segments and prosodies

/ snó iz — hwáɪt \\ || /

(4) Interpretation covers messages and notions

<snow is white.> message

<colour-achromatic-bright>, that is, <white> notion-network

Language analysis also takes up lexical matching at the level of particularities. (Read the colon as : matched by.)

(5) Manifestation : Formation : Interpretation

as in : / snó / : Noun-Concrete-Inanimate-Continuous : < snow >

/ iz / : Verb be : Non-Past-Finite-3rd-singular : < stands describable as >

/ hwáɪt / : Adjective-Quality : < white >

Language history elucidates language change, likewise, in two directions. It takes up generalities about the historical relationships between languages. (Note : Read ← as : is historically traceable to.)

(6) Formation

Modern English [Subject-Theme-Noun, Predicate-Verb-subjectconcord] ←

Middle English [Subject-Recipient-Noun, Predicate-Verb-nonconcord] where : Verb = dream, think, etc.

as in : I dream ← me dreams

(7) Manifestation

Mod E $\partial^{u} \leftarrow o^{u}$ / ō / ←ME /o;ow/ ← Old English / ā : āw / respectively

as in : /hṓm; snō ← hom; snow ← hām; snāw/

(8) Interpretation

Mod E < animal ; meat > ← ME [native; French] respectively

as in : [ox; beef], [sheep; mutton]

Language history also takes up lexical matching at the level of particularities.

(9) Formation

Mod E dream [Verb-subjectconcord] ← [Verb-nonconcord]

(10) Manifestation

Mod E / drím / ←ME / drém / ←OE / dréam /

(11) Interpretation

Mod E dream < dream> ←ME <dream> ←OE < joy ; noise>

Mod E hound < hunting dog > ←ME < dog >

Historical relationships are traceable at two levels : between languages or language-states or between linguistic forms or form-categories. Now let us take up the relationships at these two levels.

II

Historical relationships traceable between languages and language-states are of three kinds : derivation through language-states, descent through languages, influence across languages.

(12) Line of Derivation, as in :

late Mod E ← early Mod E

(13) Line of Descent, as in :

Mod E ← ME ← OE ← reconstructed from OE

OE; Old High German ← rct Germanic

Germanic ; Slavic ; etc. ← rct Indoeuropean

Note : Germanic, Indoeuropean are also names of descent-families.

(14) Line of Influence, as in :

Hindi ← Persian ← Arabic

as : / Kāgaz ← Kāɣaz ← kāɣað /

Marathi : Telugu Arabic

as : / Kāǰī ← qāzī ← qāði /

English ; French ; Gaelic ← Latin

English ; French ; German ← English ; French ; German

Simhala ; Thai ; Vietnamese ← Pali

Note : We can speak of Marathi and Telugu as Arabic influence zone; likewise there are Latin and Pali influence zones. We can speak of English, French, and German as a mutual influence Western Europe Zone.

Historical relationships between linguistic forms or form categories are of three kinds and, for each kind, at three levels.

Lines of derivation may be productive (wholesale routinization) or unproductive (piecemeal routinization). (Note : Read drf as : derived from and pdf as : productively derived from.)

(15) Derivation in Formation

N-action pdf V-action, as in : stop N pdf Verb (15th century)

V-action drf N, as in : ME dream V drf N (13th century) : book V drf N (19th century)

V-transitive drf V-intransitive, as in : ME fell V-tr drf fall V-intr

N pdf N-adjunct, N-nucleus, as in : dreamland pdf dream, land (19th century)

Adj < one that Vs N > drf V-tr, N-object, as in : killjoy drf kill, joy

[reduplication] : < frequency > drf reduplicand, as in : shillyshally Adv drf shall I ? (17th century) ; dillydally V drf dally V (18th century) probably after shillyshally)

N-nucleus : < N-adjunct, N-nucleus > drf < N-nucleus >, as in : paper ; rickshaw drf newspaper ; j inrickshaw respectively (19th century)

N-noise drf noise imitated, as in : meow drf cat's cry

(16) Derivation in Manifestation

/ Vowel-weakaccent / : < de-emphatic > drf /Vowel-strongaccent/ , as in : /wəz / drf / wɔ́z /, /frəm/ drf / frɔ́m / (*but not* from / ɔ́n/)

/ geminate Consonant / : < emphatic > drf / nongeminate Consonant /, as in : Hindi chuṭṭī A, N drf rct chuṭī, drf [chūṭ V, ī noun-feminine-deriver]

/ syllable-deleted / : < informal > drf / full-form /, as in : exam drf examination ; telly (British use) drf television; transistor drf transfer resistor

/ acronym / : < speed-coding > drf / full-form /, as in : tip drf to insure promptness (18th century) ;

TV (American use) drf television

(17) Derivation in Interpretation

< metaphoric displacement > drf < literal sense >, as in : memory < information storage device > drf < capacity to remember>

< metonymic displacement > drf < literal sense >, as in : hand : < worker > drf < upper limb > ; H ha^{n}s : < smile ; become amused : become derisive > drf < laugh >

< anti-metaphoric displacement in irony > drf < literal sense>, as in : wiseacre : <one affecting to be wise> drf < soothsayer > (16th century)

<anti-metaphoric displacement in tabu-avoidance >
drf < literal sense >, as in Marathi mī- ālo
< here I leave > drf < here I come > (in avoidance of mī gelo < here I leave, possibly, this world>

< associative condensation > drf < prior to association >, as in : teacher < typically female > drf < typically male > ; Indian English builder < unsavoury association > drf < without association >

Lines of descent may be abrupt or gradual in respect of substitution or transformation. (Note : Read dsf as : descended by abrupt substitution from, dgsf as : descended by gradual substitution from, dtf as : descended by abrupt transformation from, dgtf as : descended by gradual transformation from.)

(18) Descent in Formation

dream [V-subjectconcord] dgsf ME [Verb-nonconcord]

H [N-masculine] dsf MIA [N-masculine ; N-neuter]

Mod E [V, ing] dsf ME [V, en ; V, yng]

H [hindu, sthān] dsf [hindu, stān] (after [rāja, sthan])

H null dgsf sēr [seer as weight; as measure] (obsolescence)

dog dsbf null (innovation)

gas dsf null (after chaos) (innovation)

M paṇjā : < parent's parent's father > dsf paṇtū : < offspring's offspring's son >, ājā : < parent's father > by extraction

cognize V dtf cognizance by extraction after [V, ance] a newt dtf ME an ewte by re-manifestation after [a, word beginning with n]

dog : < dog > dgsb ME hound : < dog > (lexical replacement)

American English black dgsf Afro-American, dgsf Negro, dgsf colored, dgsf darky, dgsf black all : < less offensive > (Note how the wheel has come full circle !)

H ṭebil ; mez dgsf mez, dgsf null

H dāvā : < claim > dsf Skt sādhya : < claim, legal or of any other kind >

(19) Descent in Manifestation

Mod E / drím / dgtf ME / drém /

H bā^{n}dhna; Persian bandan; German binden dgtf rct IE

H ṭhaṭṭhā ; M thaṭṭā : < jest > dgtf rct NIA

brunch dtf breakfast; lunch by extraction

Latin quinque : < five > dgsf rct pinque (after quattuor : < four >)

(20) Descent in Interpretation

hound : < hunting dog > dgsf ME < dog >

ME dream : < dream > dgsf OE < joy ; noise >

Skt guru : < preceptor effecting transfer of imaginative cognition > ; ācārya : < instructor effecting transfer of reasoned cognition > dgsf guru ; ācārya both : < teacher of ritual > (Middle Ages) (lexical differentiation)

Skt surā; madya; madirā; madhu; vāruṇī all : < liquor > dgsf < beer; wine; wine; mead; rum > respectively (Middle Ages) (lexical conflation)

M šodh : < search > dsf Skt < purifying >

Skt sṛṅga : < penis; libido > dsf < horn > (comparable to English horny < sexually excited or excitable >)

Lines of influence may be from Other-language to Own-language (borrowing) or from Own-language to Other-language (interference). (Note : Read bda as : borrowed after, ifa as: influenced after.)

(21) Influence in Formation

N [N, Adjective] bda French [N, A], as in : secretary general in place of general secretary [A, N]

H ṭebil bda E / tébɨl / : table: < table as piece of furniture >

H mez bda Portuguese mesa : table

H dava bda Persian, bda Arabic / dā ' wā / : < claim >

Leaf cigarette bda H < bīṛī >

M / itihās / ; Telugu / caritramu / bda E < history >

H / varg-saṅgharṣ / pdf varg, saṅgharṣ bda E < class struggle >

M / khāū / : < tidbit > bda nursery speech / khāū / : < tidbit >

H / sanskriti / bda Bangla śaṁskriti bda Marathi bda E < culture >

Indian English foreign-returned ifa B bilat-phera

NIA [N-plural] : < honoured status > bda Dravidian (or ifa Dravidian)

(22) Influence in Manifestation

M sunīt : < sonnet > pdf su, nī, t bda E / sɔ́nit / : < sonnet >

H ṭebil : M ṭebɔl bda E / tébil / : < table >

H kāgaz bda Persian kāɣaz

M kāgad bda Arabic kāɣad

(23) Influence in Interpretation

non-violence bda Skt [ahiṁsā] : < non-violence >

H Varg ; M varg[a] both : < social class > bda E [class] : < social class >

M buddhibhed : < undesirable shift in attitude > bda Skt after Bhagavadgītā 3 : 26

III

An etymological statement is, as we have seen at (9, 10, 11), language history at the level of particularities, matching formation for formation, manifestation for manifestation, interpretation for interpretation traced through lines of derivation, descent, or influence as the case may be. Examples follow.

(24) Mod E ← ME ← OE

/ drím ← dréem ← dréam / manifestation

: [N ← N ← N] formation

: < dream ← dream ← joy;noise > interpretation

compactly presentable as :

/ drím / : [N] : < dream > dgtf ME / dréam /, dgtf OE / dréam / : < joy ; noise >

(25) NIA ← MIA ← OIA

/ pān ← paṇṇa ← parṇa / manifestation

: [N ← N ← N] formation

: < leaf ← leaf ← leaf > interpretation
compactly presentable as :

/ pān / : [N] : < leaf > dgtf MIA / paṇṇa /, dgtf OIA / parṇa /

where : NIA / pān / is compact presentation of H / pān ; B / pān /; M / pān /, etc.

(26) H / ṭebil / : [N] : < table as piece of furniture > bda E / tébil / : [N] : < table as piece of furniture, etc. >

In addition, we need notations like 'null', 'probably', 'ultimately' (thus, H pān ult dgtf Skt parṇa ; H kāgaz ult bda Arabic kāɣað), 'unknown' (thus, Skt šmašāna etym. unknown) along with various modes of motivation (such as, extraction, emphatic, de-emphatic, metaphor, anti-metaphor, irony), including 'after'.

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Bloch, Bernard; Trager, George L. 1942. *Outline of linguistic analysis*. Baltimore, MD : At Waverly Press by Linguistic Society of America. (Deeply influenced by Bloomfield.)

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1933. *Language*. New York : Holt.

ŚAURASENĪ IN INSCRIPTIONS

SATYA RANJAN BANERJEE

Śaurasenī, one of the dialects of Prakrit, has a literature of its own. The specimens of Śaurasenī will be found in the Digambara canonical texts, in the Sanskrit dramas and in the works of Kundakunda. It is difficult to say, apart from what is said above, whether any other texts were entirely written in Śaurasenī. The only drama in Prakrit, *Karpūramañjarī* by name, is said to have been written in Śaurasenī. There is a controversy with regard to the language of the *Karpūramañjarī*. Two editors - Sten Konow and Manomohan Ghosh - have edited these two texts from two angles of vision. Sten Konow thinks that the verses are in Māhārāṣṭī and the prose is in Śaurasenī, and accordingly he has edited the text. Manomohan Ghosh has taken the opposite course. In his opinion, the drama is entirely written in Śaurasenī, and hence he has edited the text maintaining this principle, irrespective of verses or prose passages. Ghosh has edited this in Śaurasenī. As a result in Konow's edition, we find *bhaddaṃ hou Sarassaïe* (1.1) in the verse, whereas in Ghosh's edition we find *bhaddaṃ bhodu Sarassaïe*. This discrepancy is found between the two throughout the text. From the manuscripts collated by them, it can be said that perhaps originally the text was written in Śaurasenī, and in course of time, Māhārāṣṭrī features crept into the manuscripts, and as a result, we get manuscripts where both Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī features are available. This has confused the two editors. But Inscriptions entirely written in Śaurasenī, as far as I know, are not practically found. Some sorts of intermixture are always available irrespective of any dialects. The Aśokan Inscriptions in the Eastern Zone are supposed to be written entirely in Māgadhī, but they are not practically representing the Māgadhī features. The basic features of Māgadhī, i.e., changes of *r* into *l* ; *ṣ*, *s* into *ś* and the nominative singular of *a*-base into *e*, are not uniform. In a similar way, the Inscriptions found in the Śaurasenī area do not actually represent any uniformity in the features of Śaurasenī. This is, in fact, a puzzling point. The retention of intervocalic - *d*- and - *dh* - are found in the Girnar version of Rock edict I of the Aśokan Inscriptions, though not situated in the Śaurasenī area, eg. *idha na kiṃci jīvam āraviptā*. The retention

of - *d* - in words like *dharma dipi, hida, idāni, yadā, tadā,* in Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra Rock edict V, does not mean that they are writtten in Śaurasenī. On the contrary, the Jogimara cave Inscription has *deva dive, lupadakhe* which do not prove its Śaurasenī affiliation, though presumably it is supposed to be written in Māgadhī. So the retention of intervocalic - *d* - in Mahāsthān Stone Plaque, Sohgaurā Copper-plate Inscriptions does not prove that it is written in Śaurasenī. The main point in these Inscriptions is that the retention of intervocalic - *d* - is a feature which is found irrespective of any dialects particularly in these Inscriptions. It is not a case either that they are influenced by Śaurasenī. In the *Khotāna Dhammapada* and in the documents from Chinese Turkistan, the retention of intervocalic - *dh* - prevails. All these features do not by any means prove that all the Inscriptions are written in Śaurasenī. In a similar way, the languages of other Inscriptions can be analysed.

The Hātigumphā Inscriptions of Khāravela (2nd c.B.C) present a language which is closely akin to Pāli, even though the features of Māgadhī and Śaurasenī can be traced, e.g. *padhame* 'in the first', *radha* 'below' for *ratha* are noticed where we can say that the intervocalic - *th* - is changed to - *dh* - which is a feature, found in both Māgadhī and Śaurasenī. As it is in the Eastern Zone of India, in Orissa, it is supposed that the language should be Māgadhī. This voicing of intervocalic - *dh* - is basically a feature of Śaurasenī which has crept into Māgadhī. The retention of intervocalic -*d*- as in *vadita* (from Skt. *vaditra*) 'instrumental music' is found side by side with *tatiye* 'in the third' (from Skt *tṛtīye*), *pāpunāti* (present tense third person singular of *pra–āp*) 'obtains' where intervocalic -*t*- is retained. The Vakhanapati's Mathura Stone Inscription (2nd c. A.D) seems to be in the Śaurasenī area, but its language does not seem to be Śaurasenī at all, though we have the retentions of both intervocalic -*t*- and -*d*- and - *dh* - as well; e.g. we have *tato* 'from it' (miswritten as *tuto*), we have *urddhito* (from the interest), we have *catudisi* (on the fourteenth day) where -*t*- and -*dh*- are both found side by side. So also we have *anadhanam kṛtena* 'for the benefit of the destitute.' One of the most interesting phenomena is the retention of palatal *ś* in this Inscription, e.g, *punyaśata* 'alms house'. If it is not a mistake in writing, this retention of palatal *ś* seems to be irregular.

In the Gautamiputra Sātakarni's Mother Nasika Cave Inscription (middle of the 2nd c. A.D.), the language has also the same features. The language of this Inscription is largely influenced by Sanskrit or may be called a Sanskritized MIA.

With regard to the change of *kṣ* in both the initial and medial positions, there are little varieties, e.g., in the Devadinna's Jogimara Cave Inscription (3rd c.B.C) which is written in Old Māgadhī, as Lüders calls it, *kṣ* in the medial position is only changed to *kh* and not to *kkh-* e.g., *lupadakhe* (< *rūpadakṣa*) 'a mint expert'. This process is found in almost all the Inscriptions beginning from Aśoka. So from this evidence we cannot come to any conclusion whether the language is really Māgadhī or Śaurasenī.

From the above discussions, it is generally seen that the language of the Inscriptions cannot be compartmentalized to a particular direction. The knowledge of the Śaurasenī language is primarily derived from the characteristic features found in Prakrit grammarians. There are some vital features which make a language different from others, and as far as grammarians are concerned, the major phonological rules are *three* in number.

1) The retention of intervocalic *-d-* in Śaurasenī : this means that even the intervocalic *-t-* is changed into *-d*. In most of the literary Śaurasenī texts this is generally found, even though in the Inscriptions this happening is not uniform. As has been discussed above where the intervocalic *-d-* is found, intervocalic *-t-* is also retained and not changed to intervocalic *-d-*, be it Māgadhī or Śaurasenī.

2) The intervocalic *-dh-* is retained : this means that the intervocalic *-th-* is changed to *-dh-*. This feature is also not uniform as far as Inscriptions are concerned. But in literary Śaurasenī texts *dh* is generally retained. As far as this problem is concerned there is a great controversy. In some of the texts, for example, in Kundakunda's *Samayasāra, Pravacanasāra, Niyamasāra, Pañcāstikāya* and so on, the intervocalic *-dh-* is retained, and at the same time this *-dh-* is reduced to *-h-*. As a result of this in almost all the canonical texts this Śaurasenī problem became confused. In the same book and sometimes also in the same verse *-dh-* and *-h-* are retained. This is reflected also in later Śaurasenī texts as

found in Sanskrit dramas and in the *Karpūramañjarī*. The most interesting feature is that the reading of *-h-* is found side by side with *-dh-*, though the reading with *-dh-* is also found as the variant in the footnote. So in this case I should consider the edition as a bad editing text. And this is misleading as far as the language is concerned.

3) The third important point of Śaurasenī is the change of *kṣ* in either *kh* or *kkh*. Prakrit grammarians are more or less uniform in this particular case, but the examples found in the Inscriptions are not uniform. We have shown above that the intervocalic *kṣ* becomes *kh* in the Inscriptions without any compensatory lengthening of the previous vowel. This is not exactly found in literary Śaurasenī texts. As a result this particular feature cannot give us any guarantee of its texts being written in Śaurasenī or in Māgadhī.

There are some other particular features of Śaurasenī given by the grammarians, but these are mostly based on some words, e.g. *tāvat* > *tāva, dāva* ; *idānīm* > *dāṇim; hihi* as an interjection and so on. In most of the cases the general features of *Māhārāṣṭrī* are also found in Śaurasenī as well as in other dialects. I am not concerned with all these features here.

While considering the features of Śaurasenī, we must say that we should discuss the problem historically and in discussing the problem historically we must take into account the Inscriptions. And Inscriptional languages can only help us to show that such and such features have some evidence in written documents as in the Inscriptions. We shall not be able to determine the characteristic features of a particular Inscription by the retention of such forms. Basically Aśokan Inscriptions will not also help us in determining the features of Śaurasenī, except that, some of the features of Śaurasenī can be traced from them. The language of Inscriptional Prakrits is also important from the point of view of the Prakrit language. These Inscriptions being written documents can only tell us that such and such forms were in vogue as evidenced by Inscriptions. One thing is to be noted that this evidence, at least, tells us that such and such Prakrit forms were once current irrespective of any area.

The Prakrit Inscriptions also tell us that the Prakrit language was in a state of flux where the features of the language were only current in the air and no particular grouping as a sort of dialect was formed at that time. It appears that the groupings like Māgadhī and Śaurasenī etc. were fixed up much later. By the time Prakrit grammarians wrote their texts, they were quite sharp and distinct. Whether this speculation of ours is correct or not we do not know. But it seems quite possible that there was a time when any sharp distinction between the Prakrit dialects was not found. Bhāsa's Śaurasenī is one of such examples. In Bhāsa's Prakrit, particularly in Śaurasenī, there was no hard and fast rule in using the so-called features of Śaurasenī, so also in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and *Śakuntalā*. As far as these literary texts are concerned, we know that there are manuscript corruptions, and as ages rolled by, these corrupted forms became features of a language. That is why, we see the use of intervocalic *-h-* and *-dh-*, sometimes *-t-* and *-d-* as features of Śaurasenī. In my opinion, the Inscriptional Prakrits will not help us to solve this corruption problem. Last but not least, I can mention the *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits* by M.A. Mehendale (Poona 1948) and this book is an example of how the Inscriptional Prakrits behave in an erratic way.

INDO-EUROPEAN CONSPECTUS

SUBHADRA KUMAR SEN

The concept of a language family i.e., grouping different languages according to genetic affiliation was first suggested in an embryonic form by Sir William Jones, the founder - president of the Asiatic Society, in his third annual presidential address on the 2nd of February, 1786. Jones also explicitly stated the yard-sticks which enabled him to come to his conclusions. Jones asserted :

> " The Sanskrit language whatever be its antiquity is of a wonderful structure ; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar than could possibly have been produced by accident ; so strong indeed that no philologer could examine them all three without believing them to have spring from some common source which perhaps no longer exists. There is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with Sanskrit, and the Old Persian might be added to the same family, if this were the place for discussing any question concerning the antiquity of Persia."

This truly seminal and prophetic statement reinforced further by the transportation of Sanskrit in Europe, particularly in France and Germany, through the efforts of Alexander Hamilton ultimately led to the formulation of the Proto - Indo - European (- the appellation" Indo - European" was coined by the British physician and physicist Thomas Young much later -) i.e., the "common source" which Jones rightly surmised "perhaps no longer exists." This incidentally also marked the beginning of a new line of scientific enquiry into the phenomenon called language : Comparative Philology, *Sprachwissenschaft* or *Linguistique.*

Alexander Hamilton (1762-1824) was considered in his days "as the only man on the continent with a thorough mastery of Sanskrit". On his return from India he taught Sanskrit in Germany and France. Friedrich von Schlegel (1772-1829), the author of the celebrated book *Uber die Sprache und Weisheit der Inder* (1808) was one of Hamilton's distinguished people. Another illustrious student of Hamilton was Claude Charles Fauriel (1772-1848). Fauriel held the Chair of Foreign Literature at Sorbonne and was responsible for the introduction of the study of Comparative Literature as an independent academic discipline in the French Universities.

1786 is, however, only by courtesy the *terminus a quo* of the search for the "common source." The actual beginning was in 1816, the year of publication of Franz Bopp's (1791-1867) *Uber die Conjugation system der Sanskrit.* From 1816 till today the search, spanning ever a period of one hundred and eighty years, is an ongoing process. The initial objective of defining the structure of the lost" common source" has largely been achieved. The scholars are now concerned with either refining or redefining the structure. We have a more clear vision of the *Ursprache.* The attention now has turned in other directions. The scholars are exploring new areas. A language presumes a speech community. A community in its turn assumes certain institutions — social, religious, cultural and political. By the same token Indo-European *Ursprache* presupposes Indo-European *Urvolk* and *Gemeinschaft.* Linguists are now preoccupied with the reconstruction of these instituitons. (In this connection it should be borne in mind that the appellation" Indo-European" has neither any ethnic implication nor any political significance. There was no Indo-European race, nor was there any Indo-European sovereignty or empire. Indo-European unity was a linguistic unity. The people were linked up with a common bond of a common language. The unity of the Indo-European *Urvolk* was like the unity of the English speaking people which certainly is not identical with the English people.) Georges Dumezil and Emile Benveniste have made valuable contribution in this area. Dumezil's *magnum opus Myth et epopée* is unfortunately inaccessible to the English speaking world but Benveniste's *Indo-European language and Society* (translation Elizabeth Palmer, 1974) is a veritable gold mine. Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Indo-Europeans are today not mere

abstruse metaphysical abstractions. Archaeological findings have given historicity to the people and to the language. Today we know that the Indo-Europeans had a well-organised society and their language was "rich in linguistic possibility." Indo-European archeology has matured immensely under the able leadership of the untiring Marija Gimbutas. Despite some hostile criticism Gimbutas had succeeded in making a case for the Indo-Europeans as a historically conceivable reality.

In the early years of the reconstruction of the proto-IE. the *communis opinio* of the scholars was that immediately after the breakdown of the proto-speech the historical IE languages were broadly divided into two groups which roughly corresponded to the geographical divisions of 'east' and 'west'. This classification was based on the treatment of the palatal stops (*$\hat{k}$, *$\hat{k}h$, *$\hat{g}$, *$\hat{g}h$) ascribed to the phonemic inventory of the Ursprache. These PIE palatal stops underwent twofold development in the historical IE languages. In one gorup the stops suffered a change in articulation and merged with the velar stops of the proto-speech (**k*, **kh*, **g*, **gh*), while in the other group the palatal stops were subjected to a more radical change in the mode of articulation and became various types of palatalized fricatives (**s*, **sh*, **z*, **zh*). The first group is called *centum* and the second *satəm* after the Latin and Avestan derivatives of the PIE word *$\hat{k}m̥tom$ '100'. The first group consists of Greek, Latin, Celtic and Teutonic (Germanic) and were (or are still now) spoken in the Western hemisphere, whereas the second group consisting of Indo-Iranian, Armenian, Albanian and Balto-Slavic were (or are still) spoken in the Eastern hemisphere. (The first group is also known as the Parkland and the second as the Prairie group.)

This theory with its highly intersting isoglossic distribution and concomitantly even more probabilistic geographical dispersal of the PIE *Urvolk* suffered a surprise shock after the discovery of Tocharian in the Chinese Turkestan in the first decade of the present century by the Russian expedition and by Sir Aurel Stein. Tocharian, recorded in two dialects 'A' and 'B', is undoubtedly an eastern language but does not mutate the inherited palatal stops to the expected palatalised fricatives but on the contrary realizes them as pure velar stops as in the languages belonging to the Western sector. Thus the Tocharian

word for hundred *kant* (A) and *kante* (B) correspond to Gk. *hekaton*, Lat. *centum*, Goth. *hund* (= xund) and Celtic *cet* as against Skt. *śatam*, Av. *satəm* and Lith. *szimtas* etc. The picture became more diffused with the discovery of the Anatolian language.

The Anatolian group by virtue of its location occupies a crucial position in the Indo-European family. Anatolia from the classical period had always been the meeting ground of the West and the East, this reminds one of the tragic *l' affaire du coeur* of Leandros and Herā. Anatolia has been the bubbling cauldron where mighty armies clashed with disasterous results. At the same time it has also been the melting pot where the process of acculturation has always been at work. Acculturation is a pre-condition of the resurgence of human civilizattion. A good example of the process of acculturation is found in the significant Anatolianisms in the Homeric epics.

The cumulative evidence of Tocharian and the Anatolian languages (for details see below) totally repudiates the validity of the *centum - satəm* classification as a mode of geographically arranging the historical IE languages. The stand taken by L. R. Palmer in his The Greek Languages on this issue seems logical. While examining the Greekness of the Greek language Palmer observes :

> " To site Proto-Greek in a network of IE relations we simply listed shared innovations. Shared archaisms carry little weight for they may be merely accidentally independent survivals left untouched by the continuous random process of linguistic renewal. One such survival is the preservation of the palatal plosives in the so called centum languages as opposed to the change of fricatives in the *satəm* languages. ... Thus while it makes sense to speak of a *satəm* group characterised by the change of *k* to sibilant, there was no corresponding *centum* group."

Interestingly Palmer remarks that the Greek language has all the characteristic features of the *satəm* except that it does not substitute the original palatal stops by palatalized sibilants.

The state of the art conceptualization of the common source of the IE *Ursprache* suffered another surprise shock particularly after the discovery by Hugo Winckler and Kurt Bittel (1903) and

subsequent decipherment by Friendrich Hrozny (1917) of the cuneiform Hittite language. At the time of discovery and initial decipherment the area was thought to be a monolingual stretch. Later it was found that Hittite was not the only IE language that was current there. There were other related languages : Palaic, Luwian with its two later day regional and diachronic variants Hieroglyphic Luwian which was earlier known as Hieroglyphic Hittite and Lycian, and Lydian. All these languages are grouped under the common term Anatolian–an appellation given by Emmanuel Laroche.

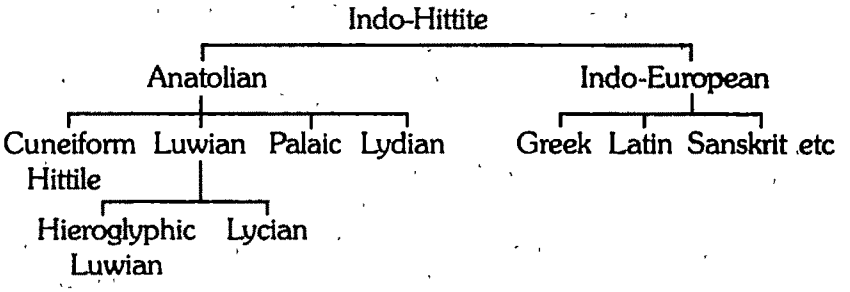
The Anatolian group throws new light on the centum-satəm dichotomy and this new light perhaps prompted to the conclusion he did. Cuneiform Hittite retains the original palatal* k̑ as *k* e.g., Hitt. *ketta* 'he lies' : Gk. *keitai* but Skt. *śete* < IE **keitai* but Hieroglyphic Luwian changes **k* to *s* e.g., HL. *surna* 'horn' : Skt. śṃga-, but Lat *cornu*, Goth. *haurn* (= *xorn*). All these forms are derived from the various ablaut grades of the root **ker-* (IGEW p. 574) with optional addition of alternative *élargissement.*

Correlating Tocharian and Anatolian evidences the conclusion that seems inevitable is that the transmutation of the orginal palatal stops to some kind of fricatives was not only an interdialectal but also an intradialectal isoglossic feature without any deeper significance. Anatolian languages, it will be discussed later, are clearly differentiated from one another.

Cuneiform Hittite is the best preserved (over one thousand clay tablets) language of the Anatolian group. This is because the political hegemony of the Hittites. It is evident from Biblical references that the military prowess of the Hittites was something of a legendary nature among the neighbouring countries. Palaic and Luwian survive as embedded quotations of various length in the cuneiform Hittite texts. As the language of the mighty Hittite empire innumerous clay tablets of various length containing political and legal documents and cultic texts were well preserved in the royal archive. It is interesting to note that not a single text of personal nature i.e., subjective kind of writing has so far been found. This fact has been variously interpreted. One view suggests that by the time the Hittites established their empire Hittite had ceased to become a spoken language but had the status of official and cultic language.

Despite the essential Indo-Europeanness the Anatolian languages in general are characterised by features which are not shared by any other member of the family. The scholars had accepted this fact as a logical corollary of longer sepration and the influence

of the neighbouring non-Indo-European languages. However, emboldened by a suggestion of Emil Forrer who is described as "an idea man and facile purveyer of startling conjectures" Edgar H Sturtevant developed in 1933 the one step further back "Indo-Hittite" theory. According to this theory Hittite is a congener of Proto - IE i.e., the immediate source of the historical Indo-European languages and these two in their turn are derived from a "common source" called "Indo-Hittite", the name "Indo-Hittite" was Forrer's contribution. The genetic affiliation can be shown by a stemma like the following :



(The Anatolian group can be divided into two subgroups. One subgroup is Hittite and the other subgroup comprises the other dialects. These two groups reveal distinct phonological features viz, affrication of **t/*d* before a front vowel is a feature of the first subgroup ; retention of **e* is a feature of the first while in the second subgroup it becomes *a* etc.)

Indo-Hittite is constructed exclusively on the facts of the retention or loss of some linguistic features which sharply differentiate the Anatolian group from the other members of the family. The retained features are considered as archaicisms. *Ergo* an older stage of the language. Conversely a loss is supposedly indicative of a common innovation. *Ergo* it reflects a period of incubation. *Ergo* a later stage of the language. The most striking example of such retention or loss is the so called "laryngeals". On the strict graphic evidence of the Hittite writing system it can be categorically stated that the Anatolian languages had two sounds, one voiced and the other unvoiced, transcribed as *ha*, which are not preserved in any other group. (Mycenaean a_2 has been considered as a concrete example of a surviving laryngeal.) That these sounds are of the "common source"

provenance is fully corroborated by etymology e.g., Hitt. *pahhur* 'fire' : Gk. *pur* 'id', Hitt. *pah-* 'to protect' : Skt pā 'id', Hitt. lahha- 'army' : Gk. *lāos* 'id', Hitt. hanti 'in front, before' : Goth. *and-* 'id', Hitt. hekur 'tip' : Skt. *agra-* 'id', etc. The other archaic features include twofold gender distinction (animate vs inanimate), under-differentiated case system ; heteroclisis; hi-conjugation, two tenses (present and preterite) etc.

Starting from a completely different angle to resolve a problem of Greek phonology Ferdinand de Saussure proved the existence of *at least two* sounds which did not survive in the historical period of the IE languages. Saussure identified these sounds as "*coefficients sonantiques*" and orthographically represented these by *A* and *O*. Saussure came to certain startling conclusions :

i) On the loss of these "*coefficients sonantiques*" the PIE short vowels became long,

and ii) the "*coefficients sonantiques*" had vowel colouring effect. Following the line of Saussure's argument to serve another purpose Hermann Möller increased the number of such lost sounds to three (*A, E,* and *O*) and called these sounds laryngeals without assigning any phonetic value. Möller thus plugged a hole in Saussure's theory who concluded that *eA* on the loss of the second component could be either *ā* or *ē*. In 1927 Jerezy Kurylowicz identified these so called "laryngeals" with the Hittite phoneme H. Since Anatolian preserves these laryngeals best the logically inevitable conclusion, to some scholars at least, was that Anatolian represented a far more older stage of the language and could not be considered as an off-shoot of PIE but was a congener of the PIE–the "common source" of Anatolian and PIE was Indo-Hittite. Indo-Hittite then represents a remoter past and the ultimate goal. Strangely this theory had virtually no impact in Europe but a mesmerizing effect on the American linguists.

The basic weakness of this theory is that it attaches disproportionate importance to the archaic features found in the Anatolian group (e.g., the retention of the laryngeals). Archaisms are in the ultimate analysis chance survivals (e.g., survival of the PIE accusative plural ending *-ns* in Gothic *dagans* etc.) and as such these features cannot be taken as irrefutable and conclusive evidence for antiquity. Moreover, the existence of the laryngeals in PIE had

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already been theroretically established by Saussure and Möller long before the Anatolian evidence became accessible. The Anatolian evidence is merely corroborative by nature. It only vindicates Saussure's analysis and the conclusions drawn thereof much as Sir Arthur Eddington's observations on the 1917 solar eclipse did for Albert Einstein's theory of relativity. As a matter of fact some Indo-Europeanists have taken a very rigid stand on the question of the laryngeals in the PIE According to them laryngeals can be included in the phonemic inventory of PIE only on the basis of affirmative and conclusive evidences gleaned from the non-Anatolian IE languages. At the same time it must be stated that the laryngeals have been accepted by both the contending factions. However, after the sad and untimely demise of Warren Cowgill (1929-1985) Indo-Hittite theory has lost its last vigorously active and enthusiastic protagonist. The *communis opinio* today seems to favour the view that there are enough strong arguments for the inclusion of the laryngeals in the phonemic inventory of the proto-speech (though the exact number of such sounds existing in PIE is hotly debated) but there is no clinching evidence which justifies the assumption of the Indo-Hittite theory. It must also be noted that the antagonists have never clearly and precisely stated their reasons for the summary rejection of the theory. They, it seems, think that the whole idea is so absurdly preposterous that it does not merit any serious attention.

Incorporation of the Anatolian data has expectedly had farreaching consequences on the linguistic structure of PIE. The impact of the new data on the phonological framework has been more profound than on any other level. This impact has necessitated reformulations and readjustments. The most significant reformulations and readjustments are manifested in the inclusion of the laryngeals. Despite the scintillating analysis of Saussure the postulated *coefficients sonantiques* could not make any entry in the Junggrammatiker castle because of their extremely theoretical and nebulous nature, as the assumption could not be linked with attested facts. Anatolian languages filled the gap between the theoretical abstractions and the concrete realities. The Anatolian languages retain *at least* two laryngeals, one unvoiced and the other voiced. (The opposition between the voiced and the unvoiced sounds is reflected by single and double writing of a consonant in the Anatolian languages. Thus

the "Indo-Hittite" controversy has been replaced by a much more thorny and bizarre problem concerning the status and number of the laryngeals in the *Ursprache*. To make an intricate problem knottier the development of the laryngeals in the historical Indo-European languages is still very uncertain. Since this issue is still hotly debated and since the literature on the subject is steadily snow-balling a very rough summary of the views that are more or less generally accepted is given below :

i) A prevocalic initial laryngeal had a vowel colouring effect and optionally survived in Anatolian and disappeared in non-Anatolian I E languages.

ii) A post vocalic final laryngeal disappears causing compensatory lengthening,

iii) Intervocalic laryngeals disappear in the non-Anatolian languages.

iv) Interconsonantal laryngeals became vocalic.

v) A postvocalic but a preconsonantal laryngeal had the same development as (ii).

vi) A post consonantal but a prevocalic laryngeal disappears in the non-Anatolian languages.

The inclusion of the laryngeals entails exclusion of the nonablauting long vowels as was already implied in Saussure's works. The logical concomitant is a simplified ablaut system of e/o plus an optional second component *i, u, r, l, m, n,* h_1 and h_2. Consequently the vocalic system is reduced and simplified. The laryngeals explain the divergent vowel length found in such pairs as Skt. *sūnuḥ* and Goth. *sunus*, Skt. *vīraḥ* and Lat. *vir*. Skt. *jīvaḥ* and Gk. *bios*. The origin of the voiceless aspirates are also ascribed to the laryngeals and also accounts for such alternating pairs as Skt. *ratha* and Lat. *rota*.

The trend to reexamine the phonemic system of PIE is still an active process. The latest view is known as the "glottalic" theory. This theory was propagated by Thomas V Gamkrelidze and Vjaceslaw V Ivanov. The basis of the theory is that the PIE speech had consonant system which included "glottalized", voiced aspirates and

voiceless aspirated stops. This is a radical departure from Sanskrit inspired stop system which includes voiceless unaspirated as well as aspirated and voiced aspirated as well as unaspirated stops. Aspiration according to the protagonists of the glotallic theory was "a phonetic feature and was phonemically redundant." It is further stated that the glotallic stops which substitute the traditional voiceless and voiced stops better explain the consonant system or the proto-language particularly in retrospective view.

Gamkrelidze asserts :

"The glottalic theory takes a new look at the Proto-Indo-European linguistic model and its diachronic transformations into the historical Indo-European languages. On the basis of the glotallic analysis these transformations probe to be totally different from those traditionally assumed. The archaic Proto-Indo-European stop inventory proves to be closer to those of languages traditionally viewed as having undergone later consonant shift or Lautverschiebung (Germanic, Armenian, Hittite), while languages traditionally considered phonologically conservative (especially old Indic) are shown to have undergone complex phonemic transformations in their consonantism".

This succinct summing up of the new theory completes the circle. We wonder and ask, what indeed was the look of the consonantal system of the Ursprache. In the beginning of the century the great French Indo-Europeanist stated that Germanic Lautverchiebung was due to the pressure of linguistic substratum. (This could as well be true of Hittite.) The 'glotallic' theory substitution of the traditional labial series **p, *b, *b'* etc., it is said, explains the Teutonic transmutation in a new perspective of ordinary development.

The air of change is not confined to phonology only. The Anatolian evidence reinforced by Chantraine's reinterpretation of the Greek data and hapax Vedic example *amba* (RV. 232 : 1) reopens the gender issue. The hi-conjugation also forces a reconsideration of the verbal paradigm. There are other points also. To do proper justice to these problems a larger undertaking of revisiting the PIE morphology is required.

Linguistic reconstruction is a fascinating exercise and one can reconstruct from various angles and *ad infinitum*. The most sensible

course is to stick closely to the historical times i.e., the time that should be allowed for the incubation of the historically attested languages. The final stage of PIE and the attestation of the ancient Indo-European dialect can be assumed to be the incubation period. Thus the reconstruction based on the evidence of the ancient Indo-European dialects which also takes into account the incubation period suggested above is perhaps the most realistic and the reliable. However, man by nature is unpredictable and Linguistics *n'est pas le mathematique.*

A survey of the changing view on P-IE phonemic inventory is given below :

A. Neogrammarian model ("Der Lautbestand der idg. Ursprache").

Vowels	i) short	*a, *e, *i, *u and *ə (schwa)	
	ii) long	*ā, *ē, *ī, *ō, and *ū	
Diphthongs	i) short	*ai, *ei, *oi, * əi, *au, eu, ou and əu	
	ii) long	*āi, *ēi, *ōi, *āu, *ēu and *ōu	
Syllabics	Nasal	i) short	m̥, n̥, ñ̥, ŋ̥
		ii) long	m̥̄, n̥̄, ñ̥̄, ŋ̥̄
	liquid	i) short	r̥, l̥
		ii) long	r̥̄, l̥̄

Consonants :

Stops :	Labial	p, ph, b, bh
	Dental	t, th, d, dh
	Palatal	k̂, k̂h, ĝ, ĝh
	Velar	k, kh, g, gh
	Labio-Velar	k^w, k^wh, g^w, g^wh
	Nasal	m, n, ñ, ŋ
	Liquid	r, l
	Sibilant	s, z, sh, zh
	Fricatives	_p̄, _p̄h,
	Semivowels	y, w

B. Indo-Hittite Model (Sturtevant's reconstruction)

First phase i.e. Indo-Hittite

Vowels	i)	short	e, o, ə
	ii)	long	ē, ō
Semivowels			y, w, r, l, m, n
Laryngeals			H_1, H_2, H_3, H_4
Stops	i)	Labial	p, b, bh
	ii)	Dental	t, d, dh
	iii)	Velar	k, g, gh

Second phase i.e., Proto-Indo-European (Indo-Hittite laryngeals) almost the same as Brugmann's with the following additions

Vowels $\breve{a}$, ə

Fricatives hy, hw, hl, hn, hm and hs.

Integrating the traditional reconstruction with the insight gained from the analysis of the Anatolian data one can arrive at a system like this :

C.

Vowels	i)	Short	a, e, o
	ii)	Long	ă, ē, ō
Diphthongs :			ai, ei, oi, au, eu, ou
Semivowels :			r, l, m, n, y and w

Consonants :

Stop :	i)	Labial	p, b, bh
	ii)	Dental	t, d, dh
	iii)	Palatal	k, g, gh
	iv)	Velar	k, g, gh
		Labio-velar	k^w, g^w, g^wh
		Sibilant	s(z)
		Laryngeals	H_1, H_2, H_3, H_4

BENGALI 'EPENTHESIS' REVISITED OVER AND AGAIN

MRINAL KANTI NATH

The aim of this paper is to discuss the problem of the so-called epenthesis of Bengali which S. K. Chatterji has used in describing certain phonological changes involving a large number of words in Bengali. To Chatterji, and other scholars taking cue from him, the term 'epenthesis' has assumed a different connotation as distinct from the established ones in linguistics, where this process (epenthesis) signifies an addition of a segment (a vowel or a consonant) in the middle of word (see Bhat 1972; Lass 1984:184; Sloat et al. 1978). More often, epenthesis is involved with a vowel insertion in the middle of a word. Scholars of philogogical tradition, however, use the terms *anaptyxis* or *svarabhakti* to indicate vowel insertion to separate a consonant cluster. For them, *anaptyxis* and *epenthesis* are two distinct processes showing different behaviour of vowels in the words. Linguists use both the terms in the same sense.

As has been mentioned above, Chatterji (1926) has discussed this process to characterise certain types of phonological changes showing the movement of vowels in a number of words in Bengali, the inputs of which are found in a particular variety of Bengali, and the outputs, in the dialectal viariety of East Bengal (now Bangla Desh). Chatterji (1926) observes that 'epenthesis' was a feature of the Magadhan languages. No traces of it are to be found in the earliest evidence of the Bengali language. He has noticed that the example of 'epenthesis' are to be found in the later history of Bengali since 14-15 centuries. Chatterji has given some examples of 'epenthesis' from Bengali Ramayan by Krittibas and from the Srikrisnakirttan by Badu Candidas. We are giving below some of his examples of 'epenthesis' found in Middle Bengali:

1. āsiha > āisiha 'you will come' ; āsu > āisu 'let him come'; pāli> pāili 'thou hast obtained'; etc. (Chatterji 1926:379)

He goes on to say that "epenthesis in MB is simply an anticipation of *i* and *u* before the consonant after which it occurred" (Chatterji 1926:379). Moreover, he is of the opinion that at one point in time 'epenthesis' was a pan-Bengali feature, the reflexes of

which continue to be present in the dialectal Bengali. Chatterji's contention can be exemplified from the dialectal Bengali. The Calcutta Cockney reflexes for certain words clearly point to the post-'epenthetic' developments, resulting in vowel harmony but the SCB froms (derived from the same source) do no show the expected developments in showing vowel harmony. These forms have extra-linguistic explanation. Let us compare the forms in (2a) and (2b) below:

2a	Sadhu variety	/aji/	: underlier
	Dialectal variety	/aij/	: 'epenthesis'(= metathesis)
	Dialectal variety	/eij/	: vowel harmony (a → e /__i)
	Calcutta Cockney	/ej/	: loss of 'epenthetic' vowel (i →∅ /e__C)
2b	Sadhu variety	/aji/	: underlier
	Dialectal variety	/aij/	: 'epenthesis'
	SCB	/aj/	: loss of 'epenthetic' vowel (i →∅ /a__C)

If we are to explain the SCB output in the ways described in (2b), then we are to ignore certain facts of the Bengali language. 'Epenthesis' brings /i/ in immediate contact with /a/ which will lead to harmonic change of the word-initial vowel /a/ to /e/ which the SCB form does not show. This form, and similar other forms, can simply be explained by the fact that the /a/ of the older forms have been reintroduced in the words (which were similar to those of the Calcutta Cockney), and the reshaped form is /aj/. The same type of change can be seen in the verbal forms with the (C)VC type (where V=/a/), which are shown below:

3a /rakhite/ → / raikhte/ → /rakhte/ 'to keep'; /ašite/ → /aište/ →ašte 'to come'.

3b /rakhiya/ → /raikhya/ → /raikha/ → /reikhe/ → /rekhe/ 'having kept'; /ašiya/ → /aišya/ → /aiša/ → /eiša/ → /eiše / → /eše/ 'having come'.

In the examples given above, the stem vowels react differently with different types of verbs as well as with suffixal morphemes. If the verb is having the (C)VC pattern then with the infinitive markers there seems to be no vowel harmony of the stem-vowel as in (3a). But the same stem-vowels of the verbs undergo vocalic changes with the gerund markers in (3b). Let us examine the following examples:

4a /khaite/ → /kheite/ → /khete/ 'to eat'.

4b /khaiya/ → /kheiya/ → /kheiye/ → /kheye/ 'having eaten'.

In both the cases, i.e., in gerundial and infinitival forms, vowel harmony is not blocked : it occurs irrespective of the suffix morpheme. So, for (3a), we can say that it is not because of grammatical information, but for other factor(s), we do not find harmonic change in the stem vowel. Chatterji believes that it is the presence of the consonant clusters that blocks the harmonic changes in those verbs (see Chatterji 1926: 387). He says that /raikhte/ 'to keep', /pairṭe/ 'to bring down' etc., do not change to /reikhte/, /peiṛte / etc., but /rekhe/ 'having kept', /peṛe/ 'having brought down' are quite common. He is of the opinion that /ai/ changing into /e/ "historically quite correct". We do not believe that for the non-occurrence of vowel harmony, the following clusters of the words were responsible. On the other hand, we think that even with the presence of the following clusters, vowel harmony (which exerted a great influence in the neighbouring vowels, and occurred without exception) took place in the forms of the verbs which have (C)VC pattern, and changed the stem vowels to /e/ in all the cases wherever the structural conditions are met with. These forms were reshaped, and the stem vowel /a/ was reintroduced by the educated speakers. The same state of affairs is found in so many cases in Bengali, and Chatterji cites a host of examples (see Chatterji 1926:386) such as /cer/ 'four', / gẽṭ/ 'knot', /ret/ 'night', /cel/ 'rice', /šedh/ 'honest man', /bhei/ 'brother', which have been "fallen into disuse among educated people speaking the Standard Colloquial Bengali as their native dialect" (Chatterji 1926:386). This simply means that educated people of the SCB reintroduced the /a/ of the stem vowels of the archaic forms in place of (more correct and) historically derived /e/–forms. It is assumed that these forms have all passed through the so-called

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Cockney stage of development. So, the development of (2a) and (3a) can be rewritten as (5) and (6) below:

5	Sadhu variety	/aji/	: underlier
	Dialectal variety	/aij/	: 'epenthesis' (= metathesis)
	Dialectal variety	/eij/	: vowel harmony of /a/ in close proximity with /i/
	Dialectal variety	/ej/	: loss of 'epenthetic' (= metathetic) vowel /i/
	SCB	/aj/	: /e/ replaced by /a/ : reintroduced from the archaic (=Sadhu) form
6	Sadhu variety	/rakhite/	: underlier
	Dialectal variety	/raikhte/	: 'epenthesis'(= metathesis)
	Dialectal variety	/reikhte/	: vowel harmony of stem-initial vowel
	Dialectal variety	/rekhte/	: loss of 'epenthetic'(=metathetic) vowel
	SCB	/rakhte/	: /a/ reintroduced from the Sadhu form

Let us now turn to the chestnuts of 'epenthesis' often quoted in literature which are given by Chatterji by way of examples of his 'epenthesis' (Chatterji 1926:380-81):

7 /aji/ → /aij/ 'today'; /kali/ → /kail/ 'tomorrow'; /alipɔna/ → /ailpɔna/ 'white painting on the floor'; /šadhu/ → /šaudh/ 'honest man'; /cari/ → /cair/ 'four'; etc.

Chatterji calls these epenthetic changes. He has given a large number of examples in his magnum opus (Chatterji 1926). He has observed the behaviour of the vowels, but his charcterisations seem to be contradictory at times, and confusing as well. When he broached the issue first (Chatterji 1926), he has not given any definition of the process, he only described the changes in the minutest possible details. Later, in a Bengali article (Chatterji 1929) he has quoted the definition from the Oxford English Dictionary. He says that the original meaning of the term is "insertion", and adds that the principal meaning of the term is "the transference of a semivowel to the

syllable preceding that in which it originally occurred" (Chatterji 1929/1936:93). We would see in course of our discussion that his explication of the changes in the words concerned and the definition accepted by him do not agree in all cases. In some cases, of course, the transference of a segment takes place, in others, it is not transference but copying or duplication.

To understand what Chatterji mans by 'epenthesis', we are detailing below his accounts (and charcterisations) of 'epenthesis' as given by him in his different publications. This may be taken as the "reconstructed" features of his (Chatterji's) 'epenthesis'. (Examples are given in transliteration):

8a "This is a type of metathesis. The *i* and *u* of the preceding syllable change their positions and they shift forward" (Chatterji 1929/36:92), e.g.,

kāli > kāil 'tomorrow'; sādhu > sāudh 'honest man';

8b "But this (process) is not purely a case of metathesis, in a sense this is a type of insertion, or it may as well be called anticipatory insertion of vowels, e.g. sāthuyā > sāuthuyā : in this case '*u*' of '*thu*' remains in its original site, and at the same time '*u*' comes before '*th*'. Similarly, in *kariyā*, which changes into *kairyā*: the '*i*' of '*ri*' does not leave its original position, an '*i*' comes in front of '*r*' as a sort of anticipation — in both the sites '*i*' remains stationary. It is not mere a case of metathesis or insertion of '*i*' or '*u*'. It can be explained adequately as a sort of 'anticipatory insertion (of vowels)' (Chatterji 1929/1936:92).

8c "This process may not be called insertion of '*i*' or '*u*': in the polysyllabic words the vowels remain in their original positions, and at the same time the (following) vowels are anticipated in the preceding syllable of the words ...." (Chatterji 1945:87). He has described these as *i-epenthesis* and *u-epenthesis*. The examples given by Chatterji are as follows:

i-epenthesis : rākhiyā = rākh-iyā > rāikh-i-yā > rāikhyā > rekhyā, rekhye > rekhe; ālipanā > āilpanā > ālpanā ; kāl+iyā > kāiliyā > kāilyā > kele ; jāliya > jāilyā> jele (Chatterji 1945:87).

u-epenthesis ; sāth+uyā (uā) > sāthuyā > sāuthuyā > sāithuyā > setho ; jaluyā > jauluyā > jailuyā > jalo /jolo/ (Chatterji 1945:87).

8d "In the monosyllabic words, the vowels shift forward from its original site." (Chatterji 1945:87)

8e "The semivowel y-subscript (ya-phalā), in a consonant group in tatsama words behaves like -*i*-, and undergoes epenthesis: আদ্য ādya, pronounced in East Bengal as /aiddɔ/; so অন্য anya= /ɔinnɔ/, কন্যা kanyā = /kɔinna/, কাব্য kāvya = /kaibbɔ/ ...." (Chatterji 1926:381-82). In these cases, the underlying -*i*- in the subscript -*y*- moves forward, and -*y*- remains in its original position.

8f "Sanskrit *kṣ* had in Bengali ... the value of *khy*- initially and -*kkhy*- in the interior of a word; and Sanskrit *jñ* similarly had the sounds of *gy*- and -*ggy*-, with nasalisation of the contiguous vowels. The -*y*- of these groups equally undergo epenthesis" (Chatterji 1926:382). The examples are as follows :

lakṣa (= lakhya) /lɔikkhɔ/; yajña = jagya /zɔiggɔ/(Chatterji 1945:87)

8g "The word brāhma is pronounced in Calcutta as /bramho/ or /brammo/as if the word is brāmya, so in the pronunciation of East Bengali speaker it becomes /braimmɔ/" (Chatterji 1945:87).

S. K. Chatterji has grouped all the above changes under the heading 'epenthesis'. From the above examples it becomes quite clear that the changes involved in the words are of different types: rules or processes the words utilise are not the same in all the cases. Confusions galore in his characterisation of the processes. To him, it is sometimes "insertion of vowels". He contradicts himself by saying that "this process may not be called insertion of *i* or *u*. In another place, he calls this may be called "anticipatory insertion of vowels". He again says that it is "a type of metathesis", the next moment he says that it is "not only metathesis, but also anticipatory insertion (of vowel)". From his contradictory statements it was clear that the changes described and analysed by him are not same, they are different processes. Taking his cue from Chatterji, Pabitra Sarkar has noted that the processes involved are duplication and metathesis. Omitting certain crucial and important details to suit his analysis,

he is of the opinion that these changes depend on the syllable structure of the words in the input. According to him, duplication occurs in the words having more than two syllables, and metathesis, in the bisyllabic words. It goes without saying that Chatterji was aware of the fact that his 'epenthesis' was underlyingly these two changes. Sarkar (1983-84) gives the following list vis-à-vis the analysis of the words:

9 Epenthesis in the words with more than two syllables: Duplication

/rakhiya/ > /raikhiya/ > /raikhya/; /baniya/ > /bainia/ > bainya/; /šathuya/ > */šauthuya/; /machuya/ > */mauchua/; šadhuya (šadhu+ua)/ > /šaudhua/; /majhuya (majhu+ua) > */maujhua/; /jal+ua/ >*/jaulua/.

10 Epenthesis in bisyllabic words (excepting the words in medial -Cy-, -jñ- and -kṣ- : Metathesis

/aji/ > /aij/; /ali/ > /ail/; /kali/ > /kail/; /kaši/ > /kaiš/; /gāṭi/ > /gāit/; /jati/ > /jait/; /rati/ > /rait/; /šali/ > /šail/; /šadhu/ > /šaudh/; /calu/ > /caul/.

Chatterji (and, following him, Sarkar) has posited an extra stage in the line of derivation of the 'openthetic' forms. 'Epenthesis' is a relation between the Sadhu language and the East Bengali dialect(s), which is realised in the derivation of some kind of forms. So the forms like /rakhiya/ developing into /raikhya/ (=/raikkha/) is the 'epenthetic' form, not /rakhiya/ → /raikhiya/ — this very stage is not at all relevant for our discussion of 'epenthesis' as it cannot be traced back to the East Bengali dialects. Sarkar has characterised the forms in (9) as *duplication*. If we look into the forms then we will see that the relation between the input and the output is not duplication but initially, it is duplication and thereafter the vowel that has been duplicated is lost: duplication occurs in an intermediate stage, and that intermediate stage is not Chatterji's 'epenthesis' but the final output of (9) is 'epenthesis'. So Sarkar missed the mark in characterising 'epenthesis'. Moreover, Sarkar has not assigned any reasons for omitting the words with medial clusters in *-Cy-* ,*-jñ-* and *-kṣ-* from his analysis. Sarkar has not also included some other typical words important for any discussion of 'epenthesis' given by Chatterji as examples of this type of change, e.g.,

11 /rakhite/ → /raikhte/ 'to keep'; /alipɔna/ → /ailpɔna/ 'a kind of line painting drawn on the floor with liquid rice powder on some (auspicious) occasion'.

The words in (11) are having three and four sysllables, but they undergo metathesis, contrary to Sarkar's formulation in (9) (which, however, have been analysed wrongly). Again, bisysllabic words in *-Cy-*, *-jñ-* and *-kṣ-* clusters utilise metathetic process [for which see (11a-c)]. These counter-examples raise questions about the validity of Sarkar's classification of the so-called 'epenthetic' changes in accordance with syllable structure of the words.

In attempting to flesh out Chatterji's contention and Sarkar's proposal, we would separate the words (that undergo so-called epenthesis) into a number of parts. Essentially, we would retain what we take to be the conceptual core of the Chatterji's analysis (: metathesis and anticipatory insertion, that is, duplication or copying) but modify most of the details. We would attach no importance to Sarkar's classification because his two processes, according to our analysis, are ultimately the cases of metathesis, and not of duplication and metathesis, that is, the examples in (9) and (10) are only of metathesis, and the cases he has omitted are those of duplicaton. However, we would divide the words into two broad types, each having a number of sub-types based on the canonical forms of the words in the input. The words can be represented in the following ways:-

12a /aji/ → /aij/ 'to-day'; /kali/ → /kail/ 'tomorrow; yesterday'; /gāṭi/ > /gāiṭ/ 'knot'; /cari/ → /cair/ 'four'; /rati/ → /rait/ 'night'; etc.

12b /calu/ → /caul/ 'rice'; */cokhu/ → /coukh/ 'eye'; /dhatu/ → /dhaut/ 'sperm'; */magu/ → /maug/ 'wife, woman'; /šadhu/ → /šaudh/ 'an honest man'; etc.

12c /kɔr-iya/ → /kɔirya/ (=/kɔirra/) 'having done'; /bujhiya/ → /buijhya/ (=/buijjha/) 'having understood' ; /rakhiya/ → /raikhya/ (=/raikkha/) 'having kept'; etc.

12d /thakite/ → /thaikte/ 'to remain, stay'; /thakibe/ /thaikbe/ 'will remain, stay'; /thakile/ → /thaikle/ 'had remained'; etc.

12e /alipɔna/ → /ailpɔna/ 'painting made by smearing liquid rice powder on the floor on some special/auspicious occasion'; etc.

12f /jaluya/ → /jaulya/ (=/jaulla/) 'fisherman'; /baniya/ → /bainya/ (=/bainna/) 'merchant'; /machuya/ → /mauchya/ (=/mauccha/) 'fisherman'; /majhuya/ → /maujhya/ (=/maujjha/) 'middle (=second) in order'; etc.

13a /ɔdyɔ/ → /ɔidyɔ/ (=/ ɔiddɔ/) 'today'; /ɔnyɔ/ /ɔinyɔ/ =/ɔinnɔ/ 'other'; /pašcatyɔ/ /pašcaityɔ/ (=/pašcaittɔ/) 'western, occidental'; etc.

13b /šɔndhya/ → /šɔindhya/ (=/šɔinddha/) 'evening'; /šandhyɔ/ → /šaindhyɔ/ (=/šainddhɔ/) 'of evening'; etc.

13c /tɔtɔkšɔn/ (/tɔtɔkhyɔn/) → /tɔtɔikhyɔn/ (=/tɔtɔikkhɔn/) 'by that time; /lɔkšɔ/ (=/lɔkhyɔ/ → /lɔikhyɔ/ (/lɔikkhɔ/) 'target, aim'; etc.

13d /prɔtyɔkšɔ/ (=/prɔtyɔkhyɔ/)→ */prɔityɔikhyɔ/ → /prɔtyɔikhyɔ/ (=/prɔttɔikkhɔ/) 'direct'; etc.

13e /ɔjñætɔ/ (=/ɔgyætɔ/) → /ɔigyætɔ/ (=/ɔiggætɔ/) 'unknown'; /ajña/ (=/agyă/) → /aigya/ (=/aigga/) 'command, order, mandate, decree'; etc.

13f /brahmɔ/ (=/bramyɔ/) → /braimyɔ/ (=/braimmɔ/) 'a Brahmo'; etc.

The examples above show that metathesis takes place in (12a-f) and duplication in (13a-f). Metathesis takes in the words having *-i-* or *-u-*, and duplication occurs in the words with *-Cy-* clusters medially in the surface or underlying form of the words. Words with medial clusters in (13c-f) do not show *-Cy-* in the surface structure, but these have an underlying *-Cy-* cluster (see 8f-g). So these words also undergo duplication. Chatterji (1926:382) has noted (but not formulated) that if a word has the input for duplication in two successive sequences, it shows duplication only in the rightmost sequence in the derived representation, and the sequence

to the left of it is blocked by the output of the rightmost sequence in the derived representation, as is shown in (13d).

From the data as presented above, we can propose that the words which are having the following canonical shape in (14a) and (14b) on the surface or underlying levels are likely to undergo duplication (we prefer to call it COPYING) and metathesis respectively:

14a

$$(...)\,VC\begin{bmatrix} i \\ u \end{bmatrix}\left(\begin{Bmatrix} ya \\ Ce \end{Bmatrix}(ya)\right)S_0$$

1 23 4 5 6

14b

$$(...)\,V\,(C)\,C\,y\begin{Bmatrix} ɔ \\ a \end{Bmatrix}S_0$$

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

The dots within parentheses [the integer 1 in (14a) and (14b)] mean unspecified segments:a permissible string in the language. The square braces in (14a) signify parallel choice : optionally *i* will go with *ya* or *Ce* (indicated by curly braces) and *u* optionally will go with *ya*. The configuration in (14a) tells us that in order to undergo metathesis, the words must be having a vowel (term 2), a consonant (term 3) and it will be followed by either *i* or *u*, optionally, *i* can be followed by *ya* or *Ce*, and *u*, by *ya* (term 5) : examples are in (12c-d and 12f). Or *i* or *u* can have any number of segments including null (term 6) after term 5, as in (12e).

For copying (14b), the canonical form of the words would be a vowel (term 2), a consonant (terrm 4), and *y* (term 5) which can be followed either by *a* or ɔ (term 6) to be followed by null to any number of segments : examples in (13a, 13c, 13e, 13f). For certain types of words, there can be another consonant optionally (term 3): examples in (13b). In (14a), the term 4, that is, the vowels, move forwad the right of 2, leaving behind nothing (ø). In (14b), a copy of *y* (integer 5), that is *i* moves forward the right of 2.

In the former case, it is metathesis, in the latter, copying (or duplication). Neither of these processes can be called epenthesis by any means. In both the cases the segments involved are vowels which move from one position to another, so we can use a cover term and call the rules VOWEL MOVEMENT RULES. The following are the structural descriptions and the structural changes of the rules:

15 METATHESIS RULE

	X	V	C	V	Z	Y
S D:	1	2	3	4	5	6
S C:	1	2+4	3	ø	5	6

Conditions : i) 1 and 6 are variables

ii) 1 may be null or any number of permissible segments

iii) 4 = *i* or *u*

iv) 5 may optionally be *Ce* or *ya* (followed by *i* or *u*) and *ya* (followed by *u*)

v) 6 may be any number segments including null

16 COPYING RULE

	X	V	(C)	C	S	V	Z
S D:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
S C:	1	2+5	3	4	5	6	7

Conditions : i) 1 and 7 are variables

ii) 1 may be null or any number of segments

iii) 5 = *y*

iv) 6 = *a* or ɔ

v) 5 adjoining 2 becomes *i*

vi) 7 may be any number of segments including null

The descriptions above clearly point to the fact that metathesis and copying take place in both bisyllabic and polysyllabic words. *These changes do not depend on the syllable structure of the words.* It is the very presence of *i* and *u*, in one case, and *-Cy-* in the other, that triggers the change. Sarkar's enunciation on this count is further from the linguistic fact.

Though an adequate formalism has not been worked out, a schematic representation of the following sort can be proposed to describe the general nature of the metathetic and copying changes:

17

$$(i)\quad (\ldots)\,V_1\,C_1\begin{bmatrix} i \\ u \end{bmatrix}\left\langle\left(\left\{\begin{matrix}Ce\\ya\end{matrix}\right\}\right)\right\rangle\ S_0 \rightarrow (\ldots)\,V_1\begin{bmatrix} i \\ u \\ i \end{bmatrix} C_1\begin{bmatrix} \phi \\ \phi \end{bmatrix}\left\langle\left(\left\{\begin{matrix}Ce\\ya\end{matrix}\right\}\right)\right\rangle\ S_0$$

$$(ii)\quad \left\langle\left\{\begin{matrix}yɔ\\ya\end{matrix}\right\}\right\rangle \qquad\qquad \left\langle\left\{\begin{matrix}yɔ\\ya\end{matrix}\right\}\right\rangle$$

The formalism in (17) shows that if the words are having the canonical shape like that of the left side of the arrow, then the words would be changed into those of of the right of the arrow. The *-i-* or *-u-* or the words will move forward and will adjoin the vowel in (i), leaving behind ø in its original site. The *-i-* can have optionally *-Ce-* or *-ya-* (and/or followed by zero to any number of segments, and *-u-* can optionally have only *-ya-* (followed by any number of segments including null). If the words are having the segments *-Cyɔ* or -Cya, then *-y-* will be copied as *i* in the output and it will adjoin the vowel in (ii), and *-Cya/ -Cyɔ* will remain in its original position. This formalism simply captures the whole of our vowel movement rule: the metathetic and the copying changes. We can say that 'epenthesis' in Bengali is nothing but vowel movement. These are not epenthesis at all.

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THE SO-CALLED VYATIHĀRA BAHUVRĪHI OF TRADITIONAL BENGALI GRAMMAR

SUMITA BHATTACHARYA

Bengali grammarians have cited some Bengali words as Vyatihāra Bahuvrīhi which express the sense of mutuality, particularly mutual conflict, following the model of Sanskrit Vyatihāra Bahuvrīhi which is characterised by the following peculiarites –

i) The compound expresses always a sense of mutual conflict and the compound itself is a name of fight.

ii) Two components of the compound represent the same lexical item which is always a noun and in vyāsa vākya it stands either in instrumental case or in locative case.

iii) The final vowel of the first component becomes long and the last vowel of the second component is substituted by the vowel <i> in the compounded form.

iv) The compound is always an indeclinable.

The examples are given below :

<keśākeśi> from <keśa> 'hair' 'mutual fight holding hair of each other'

<daṇḍādaṇḍi> from <daṇḍa> 'rod' 'a fight with rods'

<asyasi> from <asi> 'sword' 'a fight with swords' etc.

The Bengali examples given in the traditional grammars as Vyatihāra Bahuvrīhi are given below :

1. / hatahati / from / hat / 'hand' 'hand to hand fight'
2. / culoculi / from / cul / 'hair' 'act of pulling one another by hair'
3. / laṭhalaṭhi / from / laṭhi / 'stick' 'fighting with sticks'
4. / kaṛakaṛi / from / kaṛ / 'to snatch away' 'Scrambling, mutual attempt to snatch away from one another'

5. / kanakani / from / kan / 'ear' 'to whisper together, to discuss secretly' etc.

The examples found in the Bengali grammars generally express the mutual action among which some compounds (1, 2, 3) express a sense of fight. There are many words, in Bengali, of the same morphological formation which express the sense of love inspite of fight, as in

6. / gɔlagoli / from / gɔla / 'neck' i) as adjective – 'very intimate, close'
ii) as noun – 'close intimacy'
iii) as part of the compound verb root / gɔlagoli kɔra / 'to be intimate with, to hug'

It is also found that there are innumerable words of this type of morphological formation in Bengali which express different senses other than mutual action – as in

7. / bhaŋabhaŋi / from / bhaŋ / 'to break' 'repeated breaking'

8. / ghoraghuri / from / ghor / 'to ramble' 'continuous rambling or travelling'

9. / jedajidi / from / jed / 'insistence 'continual insistence'

10. / rɔktarokti / from / rɔkto / 'blood' 'profuse haemorrhage'

11. / janajani / from / jana / 'to inform' 'made public circulated'

12. / cenacini / from / cen / 'to recognize' 'act of being acquainted'

13. / ʃoja ʃuji / from / ʃoja / 'straight' 'by the straight or shortest route'

14. / dɔradori / from / dɔr / 'price' 'bargaining'

15. / bælabeli / from / bæla / 'day time' 'when there is still day light'

16. / apna-apni / from / apon / 'one's own' 'without any outward aid, spontaneously'

17. / adha-adhi / from / adh / 'half' 'a half, almost half'

18. / majhamajhi / from / majh / 'middle' 'almost middle or central'

19. / dækhadekhi / from / dækh / 'to see' i) 'again & again seeing'
ii) 'mutual seeing'

20. / moṭamuṭi / from / moṭ / 'total' 'so so, totally'

21. / taṛataṛi / from / taṛa / 'urgency' 'quickly'

22. / thakathaki / from / thak / 'to stay' 'staying and not staying'

The senses of repetition (7), continuity (8, 9) profuseness (10), action (11, 12, 14), direction (13), approximation (17, 18), opposite action (22), adverbial action (15, 16, 20, 21) etc. are expressed from the given words. It is also found that one single word (19) can express the mutual action and repeated action at a time. The sense depends on the context.

The morphological formation of the so-called Bengali Vyatihāra Bahuvrīhi does not follow the Sanskrit rule. In Bengali the morphological formation of this type of words is as follows :

i. The first part of the word ends in / a / and the last part ends in / i /. Both parts are always disyllabic.

ii. If the vowel of the original word is a high vowel i.e. / i / or / u / then the first part ends in / o /. (2)

iii. If the original word ends in / a / then there is no need of joining / a / vowel but the last / a / vowel is substituted by / i / in the second part. (21)

iv. If the original word is a closed syllable monosyllabic word then the joining vowel / a / is added to the first part and the last part ends in / i /. Again if the original word is an open syllable word (except ending in / a /) then also the joining vowel / a / is added to the first part with the deletion of the last vowel of base and the final vowel (except / i /) of the last part is substituted by / i /. If the final part ends in / i / neither substitution nor deletion is needed. (10, 3)

v. The vowel harmony plays a great role in the last part of the word. As the last vowel of the final part is / i / which is a high vowel the vowel of the base form becomes higher due to the presence of / i /, i.e. / e / → / i / , / æ / → / e / , / ɔ / → / o / and, / o / → / u /. (12, 15, 6, 8)

vi. The disyllabic closed syllable base becomes open syllable with the addition of / a / & / i / but remains disyllabic due to syncopation. (16)

The components of Vyatihāra Bahuvrīhi are always nouns but in Bengali components of this type of words are nouns, adjectives adverbs and verb roots.

The Vyatihāra Bahuvrīhi compound is always an indeclinable but in Bengali words of this type are noun, adjective, adverb and the first part of the compound verb followed by the verb root / kɔr / 'to do'. It is to be noted that one such word in Bengali may be used in different parts of speech in different contexts. (6)

It is also found that many of the echo words are substituted by this type of words as :

/ lekhajokha /	is substituted by
/ lekhalikhi /	'to write repeatedly',
/ nəɽacəɽa /	is substituted by
/ nəɽanəɽi /	'act of stirring or moving repeatedly or continuously'etc.

The reverse word order is found in / bonibɔna / 'mutual agreement, amity, concurrence' where as / bɔnaboni / which follows the right order is also used having the same meaning but its frequency is less than that of / bonibɔna /.

Some words are found which are apparently similar from the morphological and semantic points of view with the words already discussed but they have no base – as

/ ʃɔraʃori /	'directly, straightway'
/ dhɔstadhosti /	'a scuffle, a confused wrestling'

Generally this type of words are formed from tadbhava and deśī words but tatsama and videśī words which are used in day-to-day conversation are also used as base form, e.g., tatsama word < rakta > / rɔkto / in / rɔktarokti / ; English word < vote > / bhoṭ / in / bhoṭabhuṭi / 'casting vote'.

The morphological process given above is productive in Bengali and new words are always being formed whenever necessity arises to express the sense of mutual action, repeated action, continuous action and other different senses as expressed through the examples.

/ bhoṭabhuṭi / is a newly formed word and it is used by everybody.

Words of the same morphological formation are treated in two different ways by the traditional Bengali grammarians. According to them some are compounds (which express mutuality) some are derived words (which do not express the sense of mutual action).

It is not scientific that some words of the same category are considered to be compounds and some are not since they do not express the sense what is expressed through Vyatihāra Bahuvrīhi of Sanskrit. It will be wiser if all such words are treated as one type of derived words. The morphological process is repetition. Chatterjee (1962) has shown that these words are formed according to a productive morphological process of Bengali. Tagore (1904) designated this type of words as *joḍā – kathā* literally 'double words'. He also described these words as a special and productive type of derived words of Bengali.

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TEACHING THE ART OF WRITING BENGALI SCRIPT

KISHOR KUMAR RARHI

Writing is one of the four basic skills anticipated in language teaching and learning. Of these skills, writing is of more importance as this gives permanence to different ideas or concepts of human beings. In order to develop this skill in a second language situation, the learners will have to be trained systematically from the beginning.

Writing may be divided into two major types : printing type and handwriting type. When one learns to write the script of a language whether it is his mother tongue or a second language, he learns it by visualizing the printing type. In no case a second language learner begins learning the script following the handwriting type. Because handwriting varies from person to person and a person may have different varieties of handwriting. If a person's handwriting is not legible, it is useless. And it may also create some problems in his life. Therefore, a learner is exposed to the printing type of writing when he begins learning the script of a particular language by which he develops his own way of writing the script.

The present paper throws light on teaching the art of writing Bengali script to the adult learners learning Bengali as a second language and the related problems ultimately leading to more effective measures suitable for use.

The writing system of Bengali script does not distinguish between capital and small letters. The usual hand-movement in writing Bengali script is from left to right and from top to bottom. The manner of writing Bengali script as in printing type is cursive for some characters (such as ত, ভ, etc.), cursive along with straight lines for some others (such as অ, থ, etc.) and assemblage of straight lines for rest of the characters (such as ব, ঋ, etc.). The most common feature in writing most of the characters of Bengali script is to use a top straight line (that is Mātrā) with those characters. This top straight line does not always occur in its full length with all the characters. The presence or absence of it leads to confusion.

While teaching Bengali script to the adult learners, the script lessons are generally prepared following shape similarity method. Because teaching of Bengali script through traditional method as arranged in 'Varṇamālā' is more time consuming and the learners are unable to read or write anything in Bengali till they finish learning all the letters in isolation and in combination. On the contrary, shape similarity method takes shortest time in teaching and learning the script of a target language and the script lessons are prepared in such a manner that the learners can start reading and writing words of the language as soon as they finish the first lesson. Learning the script following shape similarity method involves pattern perception and visual discrimination. According to similarity of shape Bengali simple letters are classified into different groups. For example, ত, অ, আ belong to one group while হ, ই, ঈ, থ belong to another group. The first letter of each group is a base letter. If a learner can learn to write the base letter of a group it becomes easier for him to learn the other letters of the same group. Because any other letter of the group is either an addition to or alteration of the base letter of the same group. These additions or alterations are so important as they make the letters different. The hand–movements (strokes) for writing a letter are shown by arrow marks from beginning to end separately and are numbered serially to show the formation of the letter step by step. The secondary symbol (allograph) of a letter (grapheme) is also taught by showing the hand–movements immediately after the letter is taught so that the learners can easily remember those with the respective letters to which they belong. In writing Bengali the secondary symbols for vowels occurring in combination with consonant letters, have four way representation. Some of them precede consonant letters (such as ে, ি etc.), some follow (such as া, ী, etc.), some are attached at the bottom of consonant letters (such as ু, ূ, etc.) and some cover consonant letters from both the sides (such as ো, ৌ, etc.). The difficult part of writing Bengali script is consonant clusters. That is why those are taught only when the learners acquire mastery of writing the simple letters. Instructions of all sorts are clearly made at every stage of writing Bengali script.

Inspite of all these, the learners commit mistakes in writing Bengali letters perfectly. This leads to a problem in teaching as well as in learning to write Bengali correctly. It so happens because of primarily two reasons. One reason which is interlingual is interference of mother tongue writing system. The learners substitute the letters of the target language by some other letters of their mother tongues which look similar. For instance, the Hindi speakers susbtitute Bengali ঽ by Hindi र, the Oriya speakers substitute Bengali ঘ by Oriya ଘ and so on. Another reason which is intralingual is that the learners are unable to remember the little difference among letters in the target language because of more similarity. For instance, Bengali ন and ম and এ and ঞ and so on. Therefore, it is similarity in the letters whether interlingual or intralingual which causes difficulty in learning and as a result the learners commit mistakes in writing them in the target language. In this regard S. Pit Corder says ".....any particular feature of the target language which differs from the mother tongue is not necessarily inherently difficult to learn. Indeed there is evidence that something totally 'new' or different may prove easier to master than something which is slightly different."

However, certain measures can be taken in order to avoid confusion and to make learners writing the letters easily and correctly in Bengali. First of all, the letters for which there is a problem of mother tongue interference and the pairs of letters in Bengali, which lead to confusion, may be taught through comparative and contrastive method. Secondly, after introducing each group of letters, all the letters separately should be given for practice to the possible extent to enable learners to master each letter of the group. Thirdly, practice of writing letters can be extended through exercises. That is to say that after introducing each group of letters there should be various types of exercises including dictation. By practising in this way the learners may overcome the problem of interference and confusion in writing Bengali letters correctly.

The teaching of script implies the representation of its sound value. Learning the script means not only mastering the shape of

the letters following hand–movements but also acquiring the pronunciation of those letters.

At the time of teaching the script, sound values of the Bengali letters are explained through Phonetic Script which help learners to approximately establish the link between the sounds and the symbols of Bengali. The sound value of a Bengali letter given in isolation differs from its actual pronunciation used in words. Keeping this in view words in Bengali are introduced with their pronunciation in Phonetic Script. Still the learners of other language background often commit mistakes in learning Bengali pronunciation. One reason of such mistakes is obviously due to interference of a learner's mother tongue. For instance : (a) The letter ৳ used in Assamese and Bengali stands for [s] in Assamese and [c] in Bengali. As a result, while reading Bengali ৳ Assamese speakers pronounce it as [s]. (b) The pronunciation of the Bengali letter অ differs from the pronunciation of अ in Hindi. As a result, Hindi speakers pronounce Bengali অ as [ə]. (c) Similarly, in Tamil, aspirated stops are pronounced as their non-aspirated counterparts. So, while reading Bengali aspirated letters, Tamil speakers pronounce them as unaspirated. The other important reason is that Bengali spelling does not reflect actual pronunciation. To say it more clearly Bengali does not have one to one correspondence between a letter and the sound it represents in words. However, learners should be made aware of the fact that in Bengali the grapheme-phoneme relationship is three dimensional : (i) one grapheme stands for one phoneme, (ii) one grapheme stands for many phonemes and (iii) many graphemes stand for one phoneme.

To avoid mistakes in pronunciation due to mother tongue interference and lack of one to one grapheme- phoneme correspondence in Bengali there should be enough scope of phonetic drill for the learners. This is possible through recorded cassettee materials. It is not entirely true to state that we learn to speak by listening. In fact, we learn by both listening and imitating. The obvious advantage of a recorded cassettee material is that the learners become acquainted from the very outset with the language as spoken by natives and are thus enabled to learn to read and speak provided they are capable of imitating it and spotting their mistakes.

Finally, it may be concluded by saying that writing is an art and the teaching of it may be an academic subject, but its practice is, strictly speaking, a habit and the necessity is that of acquiring a skill rather than of learning facts.

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CONVERGENCE OF STRUCTURATION OF LANGUAGE IN ADVERTISING AND POPULAR FICTION

SELVYN JUSSY

This paper will attempt to draw broad parameters of language structures that find convergence in the narratives of popular fiction and advertising. The discourses engendered by the narratives are subject to their own frames of inclusion/exclusion but map out a certain functional unity in ideological terms to support the ethical aesthetic value oriented contours of a fixity in time. While this may not be seen as a conspiratorial imposition of hegemonic relations, they serve to constantly negotiate consensus of the perceptual structure of the dominant class. The extraneity of these structures are submerged in the disappearence of social conflicts. Social relations are both momentarily repaired and arrested and a false order finds a naturalness, by positioning the reader within the social ideological framework of the narratives. Both advertising and popular fiction organically lend themselves to such a perpetuation of a false order, being a pervasive force in the collective imagination of societies. An attempt is being made to address how these narratives intervene in the process.

In his 'Critique of Commodity Aesthetics', Wolfgang Haug says of advertising " aesthetic innovation as the functionary for regenerating demand, is thus transformed into a moment of direct anthropological power and influence, in that it continually changes humankind as a species in their sensual organisation, in their real orientation and material life style, as much as in the perception, satisfaction, and structure of their needs...Modern commodity forms intervene into the nexus of human needs and human sensuality operatively. A relative extraneity is introduced into the object structure or use, since it can attach to any kind of object and is at the same time gratuitous to the degree that it serves no collective functions beyond that of furthering consumption and making the system operate at top capacity. Advertising in the process acquires a new dimension. It promotes not just what to consume but which trend in the society to condition themselves to. It does not restrict itself

to distribution demanded by the market economy, but functions towards the integration of myths stabilising the signification into the constitutive signs of everyday life. These serve as factors in the establishment of a 'naturalness' in an order and naturalize active consensual support of that order.

A network of signification is constructed that demarcates social groups and in effect selling entry into that group. It would appear then that we have a class of people who by virtue of possession of the product, have a number of qualities that is signified by ownership of the product. The discourse of inclusion/exclusion in advertising narratives functions towards homogenising societies by presenting the contrariness as processes of simple exchange. Inclusion into exclusivity is a matter of possession. The excluded are included in the exclusive by virtue of a window that allows entry through the commodity. The elite and the mass are a homogenous ideological whole, save for some possessions. The discourse generates a vortex with a widening base attempting to accommodate a growing membership and in the process, conditioning the domain of human sensuality. The motivation in this conditioning loses itself in the mists of a naturalness that is the 'commonsense' of the society. One can conceive of a social process wherein the concepts, although illusory in nature, have become part of the verbally constituted consciousness and the contours of this process are drawn and given shape in the tendency towards acquiring prestige by association with the world and world view of the elite, as these constitute the 'aspirable' moments of a society.

Examined below is a series of advertisements by Garden Vareli. The advertisement was a popular and high profile one and is notable for its projections of ethnicity, which interestingly coincided with the rise of ethnicity in Delhi as also the performances of Apna Utsav. It has a series of Indian vignettes accompanied by the logo "You fascinate me". The conventions that bind signification in the advertisement are both referential and rhetorical, the interplay of the two establishing an image. The image fits into the scheme of expectations of a culture and finds animation in the discursive space of the culture.

The visual consists of a woman in 'fashionable' clothes set against the backdrop of rustic India. The landscape is that of (a) hut

and farmland (b) the woman carrying water in a pot across a field, (c) the woman with village children in the background gazing at her, and with a fierce looking villager with a bull, within the frame. The different visuals are part of an advertisement campaign, each being part of, and thematising the Indian panorama, with a woman as an intrinsic part of the scenario, yet foregrounded and focused upon. The accompanying text is the line "YOU FASCINATE ME". The visual can be seen as an attempt to situate the 'alien' woman within the panorama or alternatively the panorama creats the space to accommodate the 'alien' woman. A complementarity of the elements is sought to be obtained. This is done through the participation of the women in the ensemble of signs that constitute the life of the village. And yet a fracture is maintained in the cut of the clothes, that focuses and distinguishes the woman. The woman is a part of the Indian panorama and yet distinctive. The reified image seeks the distinctiveness that is visually presented in the frame. The hypostatized image attempts the typology of an image or to concretise an existing nebulous image.

The accompanying slogan "YOU FASCINATE ME" extends not simply to the woman, but the woman in a set of garments in a social situation. "YOU FASCINATE ME" lends itself to the visual and the underlying image. The correlation of the slogan and the visual seeks to establish and impose a relation on the hypostatized image. "YOU FASCINATE ME" operates not simply as a statement of declaration but is placed within quotation marks which again raises it from a mere printed statement into a live experiential verbal interactions. This operation places a reader in a position of seemingly direct verbal contact. Every reader is situated in the direct experiential relation of utterance of the string of words in relation to the visual. The hypostatized image finds expression in 'fascination' and is eulogized – the eulogization of image that attempts a 'type' through its reification.

In terms of ideological servitude, popular fiction (pulp fiction) too generates a similar world view in terms of the linguistic structures they evoke. Formulaic stories follow structures of narrative conventions which carry out a variety of cultural functions in a unified way. While within the opening and closure of a formulaic story, the narrative conventions may vary, self focusing on its

uniqueness, the ideological closure and the specious mode of causality common to popular literature complement a universe that buttressess the dominant social ideological world view. Problems erupt or shall we say a disequilibrium occurs only so that the hero may intervene towards its resolution or in the resolution of Order. What then these narratives generate are a series of false conflicts culminating, in their resolution, in a false order, in what Bromley (Popular Fiction) calls a society being produced minus its economy but not its money or treating people as outside the relations of production.

Regulation offers itself as a feature of pulp fiction. The constant demarcation of murder, violence, cold bloodedness, are inconsistent with a perception of society. It does not matter that these are a product of a violent society. Often communism and communists figure within the paradigm of deviancy. The location is of the communist agent within the conceptual structure, of cold-blooded, calculating and programmed. When the hero himself indulges in killing\violence, it finds justification in regulating the deviancy. Bond's licence to kill epitomises the state sanction of purgatory killings. The programming of human beings in 'communism' (Is that a subset of a command economy?) who go strictly by the book is counterposed to the improvisations or flexibility that the hero from the free world exercises and introduces a competitiveness that concludes in the victory of the free world. Individuals in the free world are individualised, while the other world has masses of programmed deviants or just deviant gangsters.

It appears then that both advertising and popular fiction tend towards reification and valorisation of a value system that submits to the dominant world view. It would do to remember as mentioned at the outset, that each of them is subject to their own specificities and use varying discursive strategies, but in general find areas of commonality in their projection of certain values in a certain mode of circulation that masks its role in society. This homogeneity within an ideological context are differentiated into independent linguistic subsystems that seek relative autonomy and is reflective of the dispersal/diffusion/ fragmentation of ideological locations.

WHOSE BANGLA IS IT, ANY WAY.....

MINA DAN

Introduction

In the linguistic literature of Bangla, also known as Bengali, we quite often come across the terms STANDARD BANGLA, STANDARD COLLOQUIAL BANGLA, COLLOQUIAL BANGLA, CALCUTTA STANDARD COLLOQUIAL BANGLA, COLIT[1] BANGLA ETC. in the works of different linguists. These terms, however, are neither well-defined nor do they appear to indicate varieties distinct from one another. Rather all of them seem to point at the standard variety of Bangla, henceforth Calcutta Standard Bangla or CSB. [2]

Not only the naming ceremony but also the identity of CSB is acquiring a not-agreed-upon status day by day especially in the field of intuitive-data-based generative studies. Here the wide range of variations in the intuitive judgements about the forms of CSB often reflects the controversial identity of this particular variety. In other words, the very question – what is the identity of CSB?– is gradually becoming a relevant one.

In the limited span of the present paper, however, I neither have an answer to this question nor do I wish to find out one. I just wish to unfold this uncomfortable question itself a little more by pointing out one of the rootcauses of it in terms of its Indian perspective.

The Language Situation

Bangla belongs to the Eastern branch of Indo-Aryan. As per the present language situation as is shown in the 1981 Census of India it is spoken by 51, 298, 319 people in India out of which 46, 347,935 reside in West Bengal. Apart from the Indian data, the language is also spoken by 85,000,000 ($+L_2$) speakers in our neighbour country, viz. Bangladesh, as is shown in its 1982 Census.[3] In India, it is one out of eighteen national languages; in Bangladesh, it has the status of the sole national language. Two very important characteristics of the language are as follows :

i) Bangla cuts across the political boundary between India and Bangladesh, formerly known as East Pakistan.

ii) Bangla cuts across the religious boundary between Hindus and Muslims. In a secular country like India a language cutting across several religious divisions is a quite common phenomenon. But in this regard Bangla presents a slightly different picture. In the case of Bangla, unlike other languages, in India the majority of Bangla speakers is Hindu; whereas in Bangladesh the majority of them is Muslim. These two groups for religious purposes use Bangla only as subsidiary to Sanskrit and Arabic respectively. In both the countries, however, Bangla has a good literary tradition and the speakers are deeply attached to their language.

As a result of all these reasons, viz. a wide geographical distribution, political boundary, religious division, national language status, deep attachment, a rich literary tradition and the speaker-strength, some sort of parallel standardization, which may be termed as CALCUTTA STANDARD BANGLA and DACCA STANDARD BANGLA, came into being in the language situation. Ray et al. (1966) recognize these two parallel standard dialects, viz. the standard colloquial Bangla of Calcutta and that of Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan. Now with the politically independent existence of a twenty-five year old Bangladesh the Dacca standard colloquial has grown as powerful and rich in every respect as the Calcutta standard colloquial.

The identity of Calcutta Standard Bangla or CSB is the main concern of the present paper.

The Question

In this last decade of the 20th century what do we understand by CSB? Or more precisely, what is CSB composed of? In reality there is no satisfactory answer to this question, though, as is already said, the concept of CSB is mentioned frequently in the linguistic literature.

According to Ray et al. (1966 : 2) 'In the Chalit, the main historical contributor has been the speech of Hooghly and Krishnagor,

small towns along the river somewhat north of Calcutta.' And (1966 : 3) 'other languages also spoken in the area are chiefly Hindi-Urdu and English, each spoken almost wholly in urban areas, where each is also just as adequate for most purposes of life as Bengali is.'

According to Sen (1971 : 21) 'Modern Bengali. . . . has received vitality from contact with the English language . . . . The standard Bengali spoken language started to grow up from the middle of the nineteenth century. It is a modified and cultivated form of the west-central (i.e. Southern 24 Paraganas, Hooghly, Burdwan and East Bankura districts) sub-dialect (to which area the metropolitan city of Calcutta belongs). . . . this standard (literary and colloquial) Bengali known as the current language (Calitbhāṣā)....'

Both the above studies, however, are primarily based on CSB and give a list of descriptive features of the language concerned.[4]

Currently, on the one hand, the above statements and features of CSB as depicted in Ray et al. (1966) and Sen (1971) appear to be quite inadequate; and on the other hand, the question – what is CSB composed of?– is gradually becoming a striking one because of the following reasons:

Firstly, the descriptive features given in Ray et al. (1966) and Sen (1971) do not really capture the distinctive identity of the current CSB, e.g. features like nasalized vowels are among essential phonemes; there are vowel harmony and a tendency of bimorism etc. hold good not only for CSB but for many other dialects also.

Secondly, those of us who live in Calcutta are very much aware of the two types of migration, viz. intra-country and inter-country, into this very city. Projects on different aspects of such overwhelming and continuous migration are taken up. But an investigation of the obvious linguistic impact of such migration is yet to be taken up.

Thirdly, as is mentioned before, within Calcutta itself remarkable variations are evident in the intuitive judgements about Bangla forms.

Fourthly, such a wide range of variations can not be accounted for in terms of only two factors, viz. the historical contributor of CSB and the influence of English, Hindi-Urdu on CSB, attested in Ray

et al. (1966) and Sen (1971). Rather these variations demand the advanced tools and mechanisms of socio-linguistics along with a sound base of descriptive knowledge to be accounted for. Ray et al. (1966) and Sen (1971), however, fulfil the requirements of a descriptive framework only.

Fifthly, this wide range of variations of CSB have not yet been captured systematically in any socio-linguistic research project.

In the rest of the paper I shall point out migration as one of the rootcauses behind these variations that result in identity-crisis for the CSB.

Migration

Apart from the historically inherited variability and the inter-language influences, which are a natural concomitant of the circumstances described by Ray et al. (1966) and Sen (1971), the present day CSB has experienced many other linguistic and non-linguistic acculturation. I feel that the strongest factor at work has been migration, which happens due to two main reasons, viz. economic, resulting in intra-country (or more specifically rural-to-urban) migration within West Bengal, and political, resulting in inter-country or Bangladesh-to-India migration.

I shall assume the inter-country migration to be more relevant than the other type for the following reasons :

Firstly, some sort of record of this migration is available.

Secondly, these migrants used to consider the Dacca dialect as their standard variety, a fact that has socio-linguistic relevance.

Thirdly, the contribution of this migrant group is more than the other in different domains of this state, be it the West Bengal politics, or the literature, or the elite society culture. This, however, is a subjective opinion.

Chakrabarti (1990), a study of the refugees and the left political syndrome in West Bengal and Guha Roy (11.9.94), a study of the hidden factor behind West Bengal's population problem, provide the government records of this migration available till 1991. According to Chakrabarti (1990 : 1) this migration 'started before partition with

the Noakhali riots of 1946 and continues down to this day. The migrants came in waves. At times the migration hit West Bengal in the shape of formidable breakers and often subsided into a trickle. But except for a brief period, it never stopped.'

Chakrabarti (1990) indicates that the first phase of migration took place between 1946 and 1949; the second phase between 1950 and 1951; the third phase during 1952 and the last phase began after 1960-61 and continues till date.

On the basis of the records of the rate of admission to Government camps Chakrabarti gives an account of at least 2.8 million migrants from Bangladesh to India during the period between June 1948 and 1971. Out of these 2.8 million at least 1.3 million entered West Bengal during 1961 and 1971 and of the remaining 1.5 million also a high proportion entered West Bengal.

According to Guha Roy (11.9.94) during the 1971 war of liberation of Bangladesh some 7.5 million people took shelter in West Bengal out of which about 6 million are reported to have gone back to the newly formed state of Bangladesh within a year. In his own words, 'It is, however, suspected that a larger number of them than is reported somehow overstayed and got mixed with the mainstream population.'

Guha Roy (11.9.94) further submits that during 1981-1991 the number of migrants from Bangladesh to West Bengal is .91 million.

Apart from the recorded migrants unrecorded migration too is there. According to Chakrabarti (1990 : 3) 'the refugees who sought shelter in Government camps represented only a small fraction of the total influx.'

Even in 1991, with the change in the political scene of Bangladesh, migration into India took place, which is still unrecorded.

In West Bengal, Calcutta, the centre of the CSB area, always received the largest proportions of the migrants. These million of migrants, speaking the same language but different dialects, obviously contributed strongly in shaping the present-day CSB. This contribution is not yet quantified. But it is necessary to undertake such research.

Conclusion

It is high time we raised the question of the identity of the present-day CSB, and to describe the variability within the norm. Until this problem of variable norms is resolved the field of Bangla linguistics will experience either of the two following situations with respect to the studies based on CSB :

i) the findings of such studies will be challenged every now and then, and

ii) the analysts will tend to work only with the non-controversial data in order to eliminate the above possibility.

Neither of the above two situations will have a healthy impact on the field.

Notes

1. In Bangla, a language with diglossic situation, COLIT or Chalit or Calitbhāṣā is the name for the spoken standard colloquial or the low variety; whereas Sadhu or Sādhubhāṣā indicates the high variety.

2. Here the name CSB is neither specified for any special colour distinct from the other names, nor is this name more justified than the others.

3. As is quoted in Bhattacharya (1993 : 156) from the Written Languages of the World, 1989 : 44.

4. Even other studies dealing with CSB say nothing beyond the findings of Ray et al. (1966) and Sen (1971).

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FROM VERSE TO MELODY : SOME LINGUISTIC OBSERVATIONS ON THE MUSICAL RHYTHM OF TAGORE'S SONGS IN BENGALI

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A song is a musically fixed verse. As tune is an extra dimension added to a verse to transform it into a song, it is observed that the metrical style of a verse is not always maintained unchanged in its song form. The song metre is often different from the verse metre. The present paper aims at discussing the differences between the verse metre styles and the corresponding song metre styles in Bengali in two sections. Section I deals with the three different metrical styles of Bengali verse and tries to show how the styles are changed in the song form and to comment on the general nature of the differences between the verse metre and the song metre. Section II attempts to offer some linguistic observations on the impact of the basic difference between the metre style of a song and that of its verse form on the quantity of syllables. In both the sections Tagore's songs[1] (called Rabindrasangeet, henceforth RS) have been resorted to for the purpose of illustration. Incidentally it is to be noted that metrefree songs have been kept outside the scope of the present study.

There are many discussions on RS from the literary point of view and these need not be mentioned for obvious reasons. Sarkar (1985 : 14 – 42) deals with the language and form of RS from the stylistic and structural points of view. Mallik, Nara, Bhattacharya and others (1994) present a linguistic and statistical analysis of some selected items of the structure of the verses of Gitanjali[2] (Song Offerings) including the verse metre styles. But none of these two works says anything about the differences between the verse metre styles and the song metre styles of RS. Mention can be made of the discussions by Ghosh (1962 : 187 – 201), Basu (1978 : 244 – 252) and Shasmal (1982 : 180 – 220). It is found that in course of touching this point in their works they all refrain from commenting on the general nature of the differences between the two. Furthermore, they do not deal with the impact of the differences on the quantity of syllables.

Section – I

Rabindranath Tagore composed 2232[3] songs. Unlike Indian Classical music, RS is not improvised. Like most of the modern Indian songs the tunes of most[4] of the RS have been preserved in 62 volumes of the book of notation (called Swarabitan). It has not been here possible to take all the RS into consideration. In this preliminary paper only some selected songs of Gitanjali have been treated for analysis.

Gitanjali contains 157 verses which are all rhythmic. All these verses are written in three different metrical styles[5] viz., syllabic style, moric style and composite style. Out of 157 verses only 85 are songs (Basu, 1978: 302). The following is a list which gives a numerical account[6] of the songs related to each metrical style.

Verses	Number
a) Syllabic style	54
b) Moric style	30
c) Composite style or Moric style.	1

In this connection it is noteworthy that in Gitanjali there are only three verses written in the composite style. These verses remain beyond the scope of the present paper as these are not songs. In addition, only one verse, as the list manifests, shows a peculiarity. It has the metrical style which can be analysed as either moric or composite.

From the list it is evident that all the 85 verses (also songs) demonstrate two metrical styles only with one exceptional case which shows alternation with the third i.e. the composite style. But as songs, it is observed that these demonstrate not only two or three, but various metre styles or Talas. Since RS draws life-blood from Indian Classical music especially from the music of North India, traditional metre styles or Talas are naturally implemented in RS. Besides these, some new metre styles introduced by Tagore himself are found to be used as well.

Now let us take up the major differences between the verse metre and the song metre as observed in the songs of Gitanjali.

Characterisation of the Bengali verse metre depends primarily on the foot formation. Verse metre styles are determined on the basis of two types of units of foot measurement.

In the syllabic style syllable is the unit of quantification. In this style the number of syllables in a foot is of prime importance as a foot is measured in terms of syllable and each syllable is monomoric. In Gitanjali verses written in the syllabic style contain tetra-syllabic cum tetramoric feet.

In the moric style on the other hand mora is the unit of measurement and not the syllable. Here the quantity of a foot is decided in terms of mora. The number of syllables in a foot plays no role in quantification. In this style the two major types of syllable vary in quantity. An open syllable is monomoric and a closed syllable is bimoric. In Gitanjali verses written in the moric style consist of feet quantity varying from five to eight moras.

In the composite style also mora is the deciding factor of quantification. Like the moric style in this style also the two types of syllables have difference in quantity. An open syllable is always monomoric whereas a closed syllable varies in quantity in different positions of a word. A closed syllable when occurs in the word final position and in monosyllabic words (Dan 1992 : 50) is bimoric and elsewhere it is monomoric. An example is given below :

1) he mor durbhaga deS | jader ko | recho Opoman*

Oh my unfortunate country who-acc. do-pf. 2nd. insult pl. ord.

Opomane hote hObe | tahader | SObar Soman *

insult-loc. be-inf. be-fut. they-gen. all-gen. equal 2nd.

Verse No. 108, 8: 4: 6

(A foot is marked by | and the end of a verse line is marked by *)

"Oh my poor country, you will have to be equally insulted with them whom you yourself have insulted."

Gitanjali has only one verse (No. 28) which is a song as well, as already mentioned, showing the composite style of metre alternating with the moric style. According to the moric style each foot of this verse consists of four moras and according to the composite style the foot divisions of the verse consist of moras 2 : 8, 6, 4, 8 (see 6).

Now let us look at the song metre. The song metre is strictly moric in nature i.e. mora and not the syllable is the unit of measurement. Each song metre is a metered cycle i.e. it represents a set of fixed number of moras. Characterisation of the various song metre styles of RS is based on the following three factors :

a) Total number of moras constituting a song metre
b) Total number of foot divisions in a song metre, and,
c) Quantity of a foot in terms of mora.

The Gitanjali-songs have been set into ten metrical styles in terms of the total number of moras constituting the metre. There are five to ten moric, twelve moric, fourteen moric, sixteen moric and eighteen moric styles. The feet may be equally quantified or not, depending upon the nature of a particular style as we see in the following examples :

2) a) I a ba r | e Se che I a – – | Sa – Rh I
again come – pr.pf. Monsoon
3rd.
I a ka So | che – – I Ye – – | – – – I *
sky envelop-perf. conj.
Verse No. 99, 3/3

(The beginning and ending of each cycle of the song metre is marked by I)

"Monsoon envelops the sky once again."

b) I bi pO de | mo re I ro –k | kha | kO ro I *
danger-loc. me save do-imp. 2nd. Ord.
Verse No. 4, 3/2

"(It is not my prayer) that save me in danger."

Moreover, two styles comprising of the same number of moras may vary in quantification of their feet as well as in the number of their foot divisions. In song metre styles of Gitanjali the total number of foot divisions varies from two to six.

Now we present a few examples with the view to expose the changed nature of the verse metre styles in their song forms. First we give the verse style following the analysis done by Mallik, Nara, Bhattacharya and others (1994) and then the song style along with the foot divisions in each case.

3) Verse style : Syllabic; Verse No. 38; 4 : 4 : 4 : 2

SOróte aj | kon otíthi | elo praner | dare *

autumn–loc. today which guest come-pt. life-gen. door-loc.

3rd. Ord.

"Who has come in my heart today, in this autumn – the guest."

Song style : seven moric; 3/2/2

I SO ro – | te – | a j I ko n o | ti – | thi – I

I e lo – | pra – | ne r I da – – | re – | – – I

4) Verse style : Syllabic; Verse No. 94; 4 : 4 : 3

biSSoSathe | joge jethay | biharo *

world – with relation-loc. where frolic-2nd. Ord. pr.

Seikhane jog | tomar Sathe | amaro *

there relation you-gen. with I–gen–also

"I relate with you where you frolic being related with the world."

Song style : eight moric; 4/4

I bi – S So | Sa – the – I jo – ge – | je – tha Y I

I bi – ha – | ro – – – I

In this example the tetramoric foot division of the verse is maintained throughout in its song form. Even the last trimoric incomplete foot of the verse, in its song form, has the quantity of four moras, as a song metre does not allow any foot to be left

incomplete. Even the extrametrical part of the verse line must come under the measured framework of the song metre. In addition, it is pertinent to note here that the verse line consisting of eleven moras has been set to twenty-four moras in its song form. The next verse line again consists of thirty-two moras. Thus a verse line consisting of a particular number of moras can be extended to many more moras in its song form depending upon the tune and mood of the song.

5) Verse style : Moric; Verse No. 21; 6 : 6

jani jani kon | adikalo hote *
I know I know which original time from
bhaSale amare | jibOnero srote
float- pt. me life-gen. stream-loc.
2nd. Ord

"From which original time you have set me sail in life-stream – I know it well."

Song style : sixteen moric; 4/4/4/4

I ja ni ja – | ni – ko n | a di ka – | lo ho te – I
I bha Sa le – | a ma re – | ji bO ne – | ro sro te – I

6) Verse style : a) Moric, Verse No. 28; 2 : 4 : 4, 4 : 2, 4, 4 : 4

probhu | toma lagi | ākhi jage * dEkha nay | pay *
Oh lord you for eyes awake sight not get-pr. 1st
pOtho cay * SeW mone | bhalo lage *
way look-pr. 1st. that – emph. mind-loc. rejoice

b) Composite; 2 : 8, 6, 4, 8

probhu | toma lagi ākhi jage * dEkha nay pay *
pOtho cay * SeW mone bhalo lage *

"Oh my Lord, eyes awake for thee. I fail to catch hold of thy sight. Looking at thy path I enjoy thy absence."

Song style : eight moric; 4/4

pro bhu I to – ma la | gi – ā khi I
I ja – – – | ge* – dE kha I
I na – – y | pa y *pO tho I
I ca – – – | – – – y * I etc.

Section – II

This section attempts to offer some linguistic observations related to the quantity of syllables in song metre in comparison with that in verse metre. In the following we present five such observations.

i) It has already been mentioned that in Bengali verse style open syllables are monomoric and closed syllables are either monomoric or bimoric, depending upon the particular style. But in song metre of RS open syllables are monomoric and closed syllables are generally bimoric with a few exceptions at the minimum. And at the maximum both the types of syllables can be polymoric being subject to the fixed number of moras that constitutes the particular song metre style. A syllable may be prolonged even for one or two cycles of the song-metre and that, of course, is dependent on the particular tune and mood of a song, e.g.,

7) a) I a no n | de – | ri – I Sa go r | ho – | te – I*
joy-gen. – emph. ocean from
I e Se – | che – | a j I ba – – | – – | – n I*
has come today tide.

"Tide has come from the ocean of joy."

In this example the last word of the verse line containing a closed syllable is extended for one full cycle of the particular metre style consisting of seven moras divided into three feet having 3/2/2 moras respectively.

b) I nu tO no | me ghe ro I gho ni ma | – – – I
new cloud-gen. thickness
I – – – | – – r I pa ne – | ce – – I
–gen. towards look –
I ye – – | – – – I
–pf. conj.

"Staring at the intense new cloud."

This example contains the word *ghonimar* 'of thickness', which has the last closed syllable consisting of ten moras. In other words this syllable is prolonged for more than one and a half cycles of the metre style consisting of six moras divided into two feet, each having three moras.

ii) In a few cases closed syllables are found to be exceptionally monomoric instead of being bimoric. These are found to occur in the last mora of a foot as well as before the primary beat.

iii) Prolongation of open syllables, as we notice, is very much frequent in case of syllables ending in the vowels /a/, /e/ and /o/. Open syllables ending in / a / appears to be the most frequent and it conforms to the phonetic fact that / a / is articulated with the minimum effort. In Standard Colloquial Bangla the vowels / E / and / O / have limited distribution. These two vowels occur only in word-initial syllables and in monosyllabic words. This characteristic of the SCB phonology has a reflection on the quantity of the open syllables with / E / & / O /. In Gitanjali-songs open syllables having / E / and / O / are in maximum cases monomoric.

iv) With regard to the phonetic nature of the segmental sounds of prolonged closed syllables one observation can be made that the peak and not the coda is always extended. This is a notable characteristic of RS as opposed to other modern Bangla Songs where the coda containing a continuant may also be prolonged. For example we can consider the word *ban* 'tide' in (7a) and *ghonimar* 'of thickness' in (7b).

v) Lastly, the diphthongal syllables (CVV) in Bengali as rightly referred to by Dan (1994: 35) are closed syllables from both the viewpoints of metrics (Sen, 1974, 1986) and phonology (Sarkar, 1985–86). Dan (1994 : 39 - 40) treats the diphthongal syllable from the viewpoint of metrical phonology and so prefers to consider them heavy in terms of cannonical quantity. A syllable in metrical phonology consists of an onset and a rime and the rime may again branch into peak and coda. Thus both diphthongal syllable and closed syllable can be grouped together into one called heavy syllable since in both the cases the rime branches. The fact whether the coda is a consonant or a vowel, is not important at all. This treatment of diphthongal syllables holds good in song-metre also. In RS like consonants the semivowels are never prolonged in a diphthongal syllable.

Notes

1. RS is the best example of modern Bengali lyric songs.
2. The English translation of Gitanjali won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913
3. Mukhopadhyay Prabhat Kumar. Gitabitan Kalanukramik Suchi (A chronological index of Gitabitan) Volume 1 : 11.
4. Songs preserved in 62 volumes of notation book (Swarabitan) are 1917 in number.
5. For referring to the metrical styles of Bengali verse Prabodha Chandra Sen's school of metrical analysis has been followed.
6. The account has been given on the basis of the metrical analysis of the verses of Gitanjali – presented in Mallik. Nara. Bhattacharya and others (1994).

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